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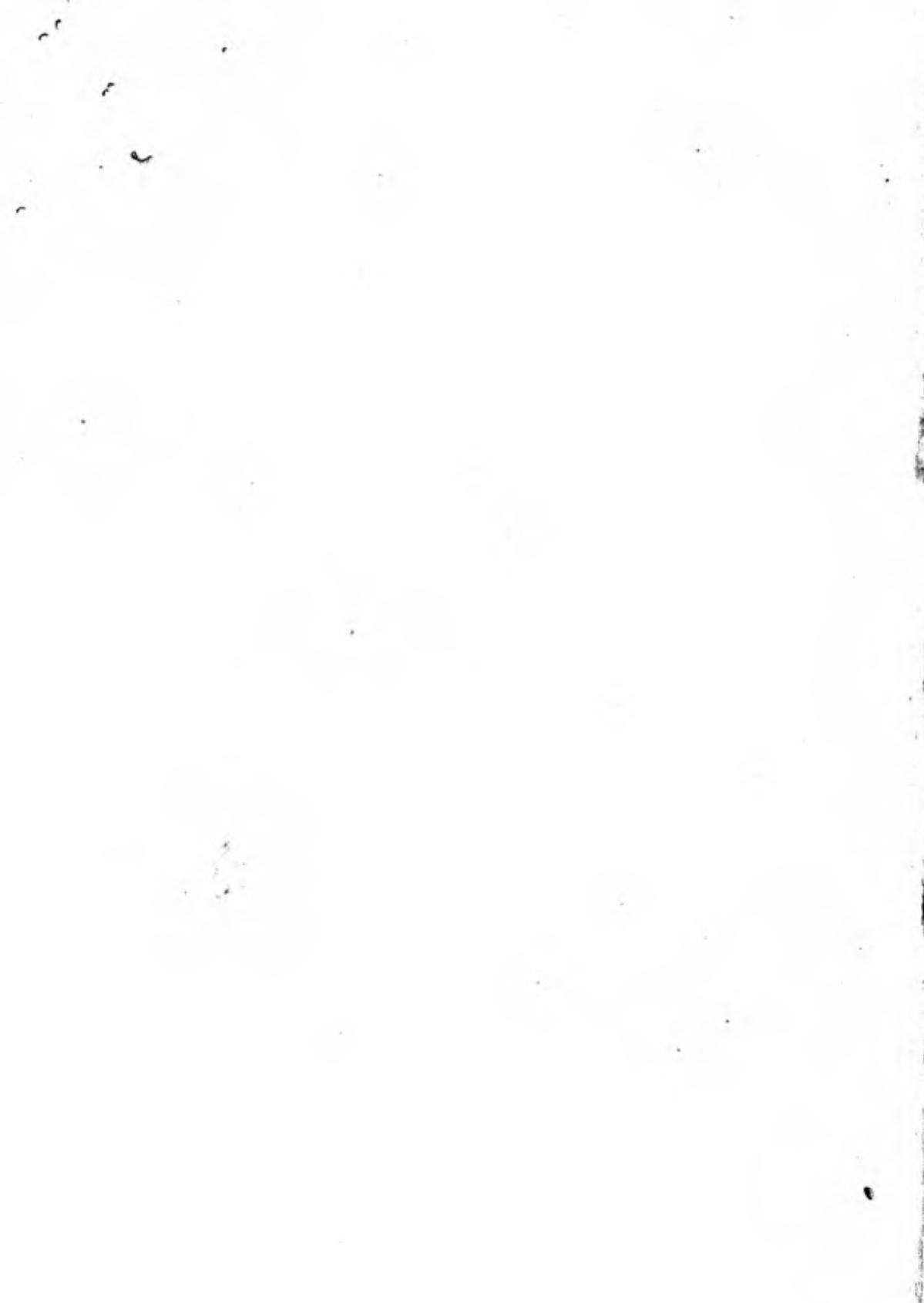
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The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

VOL. XI
for the year 1920—21

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CAR-LIKE NICHE IN THE KESAVA TEMPLE AT BELUR.

(By kind courtesy of Mr. R. Narasimhachar)

Vide page 37.

The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XI.]

OCTOBER 1920

[No. I.

THE TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
MYTHIC SOCIETY.

Bangalore, July 31, 1920.

RAJASEVADHURINA SIRDAR M. KANTARAJ URIS, B.A., C.S.I.,
DEWAN OF MYSORE,
in the Chair.

MR. A. V. RAMANATHAN, B.A., General Secretary, read the Report.

THE REPORT.

ON behalf of the Committee of the Mythic Society, I have the honor to place before you the following Tenth Annual Report on the working of the Mythic Society.

The year that has just closed has been remarkable in several respects. We have added materially to our funded capital which stands now at Rs. 5,000 against Rs. 3,000 on the 30th June 1919, gained substantial additions to our Library, secured five beautiful portraits for our Hall and increased our membership appreciably, while our Hall has been more and more largely in demand for the meetings of other Associations, Government Departments and the lectures of the Mysore University.

MEMBERSHIP.—Our membership which stood at 426 on the 1st July 1919 is now 488, of whom 17 are honorary members, 5 life members, 190 resident and 276 mofussil members. We have also 32 subscribers.

In order to augment the funded capital of the Society, your Committee canvassed during the year for life memberships and were able to secure four new life members besides the one secured in the previous year. An increase in life-memberships will help the Society to greater stability and place its management beyond anxiety in respect of its finances. The donation is by no means high being only Rs. 100 and the Committee have no doubt that there are still a great many among the members who will help them in the coming year by converting their annual, into life-memberships. The Committee take this opportunity of thanking Rajasevadghurina Sirdar M. Kantaraj Urs, C.S.I., for having kindly accepted most readily to become a life member from this year. We have secured four other life members since the beginning of July, our President setting an example to the other members.

FINANCES.—A statement showing the receipts and disbursements during the year is appended to this Report. It will be seen from it that we opened the session with a funded capital of Rs. 3,000 and a balance of Rs. 702 in the ordinary account. Our receipts during the year amounted to Rs. 5,991 in round figures and our expenditure to Rs. 5,624 leaving in our hands on the 1st July 1920 a funded capital of Rs. 5,000 and a working balance of Rs. 358. Our expenditure during the year was slightly in excess of the receipts excluding donations and life memberships, a fact due to the continued high cost of paper and printing which prevailed during the year. Your Committee apprehend that the cost under this head will materially increase during the current year and they feel that consistently with the low subscription for mofussil membership the working of the Society can be run economically only by a still further increase in membership and reduction in other expenditure. They appeal to all members of the Society to bring into our fold as many of our sympathisers as possible. The members will also be helping the Committee to keep down expenditure by remitting the annual subscription immediately after the commencement of every year, as thereby the unduly high charges under postage and stationery now incurred can be avoided.

MEETINGS.—Though the Rules provide for only nine meetings, eleven meetings were held during the year at three of which the lectures were illustrated with lantern slides. At one of these meetings, Mr. R. H. Campbell, C.I.E., read a very interesting paper on "Tippu Sultan" and the chair was taken by the Dewan of Mysore. Another lecture was on "Indian Coins" delivered by Dr. J. N. Farquhar, Literary Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. It was widely appreciated as being the only lecture on Numismatics which we

have had so far in this Society. The Hon'ble Mr. Cobb, C.S.I., C.B.E., C.I.E., presided at the meeting when Dr. Radhakumud Mukherji, M.A., Ph. D., read a paper on "Some aspects of Education in Ancient India." Mention must be made here also of Praktana Vimarsa Vichakshana Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar's instructive lecture on "The Karnataka Country and Language" and of Rao Sahib S. Krishnaswami Iyengar's interesting lecture which threw a new light on the foundation of Vijayanagar. The Committee tender their grateful thanks to the gentlemen above named and to the other members who helped them in carrying out the interesting and full programme of the year. We are happy to be able to announce that we have secured promises already from several members for the lectures of the ensuing session and that we shall have no difficulty in continuing to maintain the high traditions of the Society. In this connection, we note with satisfaction that during the year under review our President and our Branch Secretary for History have availed themselves of their holidays to visit places of interest. Mr. S. Srikantaiya has already lectured before the Society on the old ruined cities in Ceylon, the object of his visit. We trust that our President will at an early date favour us with an account of his tour to Nepal, "the Forbidden Land." His unique experience will enable him to give us a paper on the birth place of Buddha which ought to be of entrancing interest.

JOURNAL.—The enthusiastic co-operation of the gentlemen who delivered the several lectures and the sustained interest taken by scholars like Mr. F. J. Richards, Mr. K. G. Shankara Iyer, Mr. K. G. Sesha Iyer, Babu Dharmapati Banerji, Mr. R. Shama Shastry, Mr. L. A. Cammiade and Mr. K. Rama-pisharothi have enabled your Editors to maintain the usual standard of excellence in your Quarterly.

Our list of exchanges has increased from 24 to 29 and quite recently we have made a further valuable addition to it from America, namely, the Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Our Editor Mr. F. R. Sell, who is now on furlough in England, has promised to try and secure for us some additions during the current session.

LIBRARY.—As remarked at the commencement of the Report we have been able to secure substantial additions to our Library. One of our members has generously presented the Society with the Library, consisting of five hundred volumes, of the late Dewan of Mysore, T. Ananda Rao. Colonel Sir Richard Temple has placed us under a deep debt of obligation by presenting us with a photo of his and also with a complete set of his writings on Anthropology, Ethnography and allied subjects. Sir John Marshall to whose kindness we already owe several volumes in our Library has added to his claim for our gratitude by presenting us with twenty-eight very valuable

volumes of the Archaeological reports which we were badly in need of, and by promising to send us at an early date an autograph portrait of his. One of our Branch Secretaries, the Rev. Mr. Goodwill who is now in England very kindly agreed to obtain rare books relating to Mysore and South Indian History from the private collections in England, and has already arranged some bargains. These books are expected here in a few weeks. Just this week, we have received a gift of 16 valuable volumes consisting of the works of Max Muller, Monier Williams and Cowell from Mrs. and Mr. J. G. Tait on the eve of their departure to their highland home. Mrs. and Mr. Tait have been uniformly kind to us, and we greatly appreciate this further evidence of their interest. On behalf of the Society we offer them our best thanks for this kind gift and wish them bon voyage and continued and happy rest for a long time to come.

HALL.—The Mysore Government have continued their generous help towards the maintenance of our Hall and the adjoining garden. Our Hall has been rendering increasing service to the public. During the year we placed our Hall at the disposal of the Mysore University for its Extension Lectures and also arranged for the necessary publicity work in this connection. The All-India Sugar Committee held its sittings in this Hall and the Horticultural Society of Bangalore continued to utilize it for their frequent meetings. The Agricultural Department, the Forest Department, the Civic and Social Association and other public bodies had also the benefit of the Hall during the year and quite recently we have had the pleasure of lending our Hall to the Mysore Civil Services Association from among whose ranks we count already several of our members and officers and hope to gain more. We welcome every opportunity to increase the usefulness of the Hall as a proof of our solicitude for advancing all activities of public usefulness in the State.

We have during the year secured the portraits of His Highness the Raja of Cochin and those of Sir Richard Temple and Sir Ashutosh Mukerji. Our revered President, Father Tabard, has also kindly acceded to our request and presented the beautiful portrait that adorns the Hall at present. Mr. F. J. Richards, with whom the idea of the Mythic Society originated, has also gifted us with his portrait.

DONATIONS.—We have been specially fortunate during the year in the donations that we were able to secure for our Society and its library. Early in the year, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, C.I.E., of Madras, lately Advocate-General, gave us a handsome donation of Rs. 150 for our Library. Subsequently, we had the privilege of receiving a donation of Rs. 100 from His Highness the Raja of Cochin for the same purpose. Later, during his visit to Bombay in February last, our President who, wherever he may happen

to be, is always thinking of the welfare of the Society, interviewed Sir Dorabji Tata, Kt., one of our Honorary Vice-Presidents and induced him to contribute the munificent donation of Rs. 1,000 towards our funded capital. We take this opportunity of tendering the grateful thanks of the Society to these donors for their generosity.

CONCLUSION.—Before concluding this report, the Committee wish to express the best thanks of the Society to Mr. S. Shamanna for his services as Honorary Treasurer for several years. He had to vacate that office on his transfer from Bangalore; but he is nevertheless continuing his keen interest in the Society. We hope that during his stay in the charming district of Hassan full of archaeological and architectural remains, he will divert his talents from the financial to the historical field and enrich our Journal with his contributions. The Committee desire also to take this opportunity to express their grateful acknowledgments to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore and His Highness' Government for their generous sympathy with the objects of the Society and also to the several members and other gentlemen who have helped us with their donations or their papers to make the Tenth Session of the Mythic Society the most successful one in its history.

Rev. Father A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S., President of the Society, spoke as follows in moving his proposition for the adoption of the Report:—

DEWAN SAHEB, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

The Report you have just heard read is, you will all agree, eminently satisfactory, and, as for myself, I heartily endorse the General Secretary's remarks that it is a record of a very successful session. There has been progress in every direction, a sign that the life of the Mythic Society is developing on healthy lines.

With your permission, I will first touch on some salient points in the Report.

A Society like ours must be stable and not depend on the energy and enthusiasm of one man. The first condition of stability is a Funded capital to enable it to face unforeseen emergencies. The move made by the Committee towards this object will, I am sure, commend itself to all the members. Donations and life-memberships have enabled us to add Rs. 2,000 to our funded capital in the course of the year. May I echo the appeal made by the General Secretary for life-memberships? Many members must feel it irksome to have our peon to come sometimes at most inconvenient hours for the subscription and is it not a fact that often one is inclined to send him away with the time-honoured *Nalaiki-va!* A life member saves himself all

that inconvenience ; once he has paid up one hundred rupees, he feels sure that journals, notices, etc., will come to him regularly and that he will never be troubled by peons or V.P.Ps. According to the Latin adage, *Exempla trahunt*, I have allowed myself to be drawn by the example of the Dewan Saheb and I have had myself registered as a life member. Had I done so when the Society was started ten years ago, I would have been a gainer by Rs. 50, but that does not matter. One hundred rupees paid now do make me feel that I am good for twenty years more. With the Dewan Saheb's and the President's examples before them, am I too bold if I express the hope that many members will date their life-memberships from the 1st of July, 1920 ? May I also request intending life-members to send their names at their earliest convenience as we are preparing a revised list of members to be issued with the October number of our Journal ?

Handsome donations have been a feature of the closing session. I take upon myself the credit to have brought a few to the Society. Other influential members will, I have no doubt, exert themselves in the same direction and no member will deem that he has done his duty towards the Society till our funded capital has reached the modest sum of Rs. 20,000.

Coming now to our Journal, I may draw your attention to the extraordinary fact that since its first appearance in 1909, the rate of subscription has remained the same. I do not think that many publications in India or in Europe can boast that, during the war, they have not increased the rate. We are all aware of the increased cost of paper and labour. Yet, in spite of all those adverse circumstances, the Journal of the Mythic Society is being delivered year after year against Rs. 5 to the Resident and Rs. 3 to Mofussil members. On more than one occasion I have been urged by my Committee to follow the example set by similar publications, but I have always hesitated to sanction an increase which I was afraid might influence our membership. I want the Quarterly of the Society to be accessible to all who are interested in India and things Indian. No one must have reason to say that he cannot afford to be a member. My determination on that point has become stronger still, when in looking over the accounts of last year, I find that in spite of reminders and V.P.Ps., the outstandings at the end of this session amount to about Rs. 350.

With regard to the contents of the Journal, I have heard it said by some that our Journal is too learned and that many articles are above the head of the ordinary readers, by others that sometimes we allow articles to appear which do not bear the stamp of deep scholarship. Here we are faced with the difficulty inherent to human nature, i.e., to please everyone. Yet we believe that on the whole our Quarterly has

won for itself a place of honour among similar publications in India. We are glad to state that many scholars are proud when we accept their articles for publication, for they know well that ours is a platform which confers some distinction on those who are allowed to stand on it.

I am happy to see that our Library is increasing daily. Some donations towards it are in cash, some in books. Both, you may believe me, are welcome. May I request the members present to have a look round their own libraries and ask themselves what is likely to become of many of those valuable volumes? An enlightened executor may perhaps send them to us, like the gentleman who has promised us the late Mr. Ananda Rao's library, but is there not a fear that others may sell them as waste paper? Go to the bazaars and you will find that this has been the fate of many books which should have found their way into some Public Library.

Our application to the Mysore Government to transfer to our Library on trust such works as bear on the subjects which form the scope of our Society, is still awaiting decision. Now that our Library is opened to the public, it will be a boon to scholars, members and non-members, to have a central place where they may consult books which are at present scattered over several libraries unknown and useless not only to the public but in many cases even to those who have access to those libraries. We have every hope that our application will be considered favourably by His Highness the Maharaja's Government and that with this addition to our literary treasures, our Hall will be not only a social but also an intellectual centre.

Now for a few observations which though not connected directly with the report, yet bear on the work of the Society.

It is not given to every member to travel far and wide in India and to make discoveries of striking antiquarian interest but all can help to make the place they live in better known. We, here in Bangalore, have a field of research which is still to a very great extent unexplored. I was asked myself not very long ago whether I knew where the officers and men who fell at the siege of Bangalore had been buried, and if, as it seems probable, it was in the old English Cemetery south of the Fort, why only the foundations of the monuments erected to the memory remain? Was Tippu responsible for their having been levelled to the ground?

Other queries: What is the meaning of the Cenotaph on this very road? Is it only a monument to the memory of those who fell during the Mysore campaigns, or has it been erected on the very spot where gallant men were buried? Where was Colonel Moorehouse buried in Bangalore before his remains were exhumed and taken to Madras to be accorded a public funeral eight months after his death? Where was the gallant Killeddar who defend-

ed the Fort buried? When Lord Cornwallis offered Tippu to have the Killedar's body conveyed to Seringapatam, the Sultan replied, "a brave man should be buried where he falls" and yet, all attempts to discover the place where he lies have proved unsuccessful. I, though President of the Mythic Society, had to confess my ignorance on all those points. May I recommend these queries to the attention of our Bangalore Members?

Bangalore is a place of historical interest and yet in guidebooks we read only of its climate, gardens, etc. Sometimes, Kempe Gowda's watch-towers, known as Tippu's look-outs, are mentioned, but few there are who could identify the fourth one. They know the look-outs at Hebbal, Ulsoor and the Lal Bagh, but they have not heard of the one at Gavipuram.

The Bangalore Fort also possesses a unique historical interest. Most of it has disappeared within the knowledge of many of us. What is left of the old Delhi Gate with the dungeons ought, I think, to be one of the show places of Bangalore. If the Mysore Durbar were pleased to hand over the care of it to the Mythic Society, I would gladly undertake to keep it in proper order. A custodian might be appointed who would take visitors round and a small fee charged to go towards the upkeep of that historical place. I take the liberty to place the suggestion before His Highness the Maharaja's Government.

Before I resume my seat, may I ask you to bear with me a little longer to enable me to place before you some general ideas which if carried out would in my opinion greatly enhance the interest of books and papers on Indian History.

We all agree that the History of India is second to none in heroes and in heroic deeds. Why then does it not appeal to students like the history of Greece, Rome, Great Britain, France and other countries of the West? Nowhere can we find men who have achieved more than the Mauryan Chandragupta and Asoka, the Kushan Kanishka, Harsha of Kanauj, the Imperial Guptas, Chandra, Samudrā and Skanda, Vishnuvardhana the Hoysala, the Chola Rajaraja the Great, Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar and the illustrious Chikkadeva Raya of Mysore, to mention only a few, and yet their names are unknown except to a very limited circle of scholars, whereas the heroes of ancient or modern Europe are enjoying great fame wherever the study of history flourishes. In my opinion, which I humbly submit to the lovers of Indian History, this is due to two causes. As far as European scholars are concerned, unless they happen to be conversant with Sanskrit and the vernaculars of India, the names of Indian heroes are too difficult to pronounce and to remember. The difficulty increases when, as is the case with many, these heroes are referred to with the high sounding titles

they gave themselves on the inscriptions, added to their names. It becomes extremely puzzling to follow the same personage throughout his career when we meet him each time under a different name or title. One very often wishes that the European method be more widely adopted: to give the same name throughout in the simplest possible form and with a Roman Numeral to distinguish him from others bearing the same name. The other cause is that very often we reckon by centuries. This again makes for vagueness. It is not easy to form an idea, say, of the Fifth Century B.C., or the Tenth Century A.D. I would suggest that, when Indian History is written, a back-ground might be given to it. Educated Indians are now deeply conversant with Biblical and European History, both ancient and modern. Those histories might supply the required back-ground. Two instances will illustrate my meaning: When we say that Buddha flourished in the Fifth Century B.C., this to my mind is vague but if we are made to remember that it was practically at the same time when the Battle of Marathon was fought or when Leonidas saved Greece's honour at the Thermopylae or when the Jews returned from the Babylonian captivity, it is easier to place that important event in the history of the world. Again take Mysore: the date of the wonderful monuments at Sravanabelgola is the Tenth Century A.D., that is again rather vague. It becomes more definite if we are reminded that it was the century when the Othos were the rulers of the Holy Roman Empire, Canute, King of England, Hugh Capet founding the third Dynasty in France and when the Christian peoples of Europe were expecting the end of the world. It seems to me that this method of writing Indian History would make it more interesting and more intelligible.

Another point which to my mind cannot be enough emphasised is that no book and no paper on History should be written without maps. This, of course, applies to the history of every country, but much more, it seems to me, to India where kingdoms and boundaries of kingdoms have changed so frequently. Maps and still more maps should be the cry of readers if the writers of History wish men to follow and understand them. I would also plead for comparative maps in connection with ancient Indian History. Without this it is almost impossible to locate on a modern map places of antiquarian interest. I am not likely to forget the amount of trouble I have experienced myself to find out exactly where to look for Kapila Vastu, the Lambini Gardens or the famous Buddhist monastery, Nalanda.

I am afraid I have taken up too much of your time. As a proof that I am forgiven I will ask once more all the members present to take a still livelier interest in the welfare of the Mythic Society which helps to make known all over the world the fair name of our beloved Mysore.

I have now the honour to propose that the Report for 1919-20 be adopted.

In a few well chosen words Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao, B.A., B.L., Member of Council, seconded the proposition which was carried unanimously.

Sir Leslie Miller, Kt., C.B.E., Chief Justice, Mysore, in his inimitable style, proposed that Father Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S., be re-elected President for the ensuing session. He said that, though this was the fourth time, he had been asked to perform the same task, yet it was always a pleasure to him to stand on this platform to propose the re-election of Father Tabard. This was a motion he knew beforehand would be passed unanimously. All agreed with him that no one else could possibly be elected as President as long as they could re-elect Father Tabard. He had all the qualities to guide the destinies of the Society, sympathy, tact and all required scholarly attainments. Another point in favour of Father Tabard was that, as long as he was at the head of affairs, they need not be anxious about the financial stability of the Society. The proposition, duly seconded by Mr. K. Chandy, B.A., Excise Commissioner in Mysore, was carried by acclamation.

Rao Bahadur, Rajasabhbhushana, M. Shama Rao, M.A., Inspector-General of Education in Mysore (Retd.), after having explained certain alterations which had been found necessary in the rules of the Society, proposed that the revised rules be adopted. Mr. P. G. D'Souza, B.A., B.L., Secretary to Government, Education and Agriculture, after having complimented the Executive Committee of the Society on the business-like manner in which they were safeguarding the interests of the Society, seconded the motion which was carried.

In an interesting speech, Mr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A., Revenue Commissioner in Mysore, proposed and Mr. V. R. Thyagaraja Iyer, M.A., Director of Statistics, and Census Commissioner, seconded the appointment of the office bearers for the ensuing session.

The Chairman, Sirdar M. Kantaraj Urs, rising amidst enthusiastic applause, spoke as follows:—

THE DEWAN'S SPEECH.

By taking the chair this evening, I have been able to discharge myself from an undertaking, which I gave to Rev. Father Tabard three years ago. For some reason or other, it had not been possible for me to comply with his request for the past three years. It gives me great pleasure indeed to accept now his kind invitation to preside at this the Tenth Meeting of the Mythic Society.

The Report we have had read to us by the General Secretary is indeed a highly satisfactory one, indicating progress in every direction. There has been an increase in membership; the Society's Funded capital has been

augmented; more than the usual number of meetings have been held; there has been considerable addition to the Library; and above all, the high quality of the Quarterly Journal has been maintained. I am sure you will all agree with me that all these constitute a record of which any management may feel justly proud. We are also told that this beautiful hall in which we have assembled this evening has been in great demand from several Associations who have held their meetings here. It has also been brought to our notice that several donations have been received during the year, notably Sir Dorabji Tata's, whose munificent donation of Rs. 1,000 has gone far to augment the funded capital of the Society, thanks to the efforts of our President, whose suave appeals it is impossible to resist. I would earnestly request your serious consideration to the spirited appeal of our worthy President for donations and life memberships. The Society cannot be said to be on a stable basis until its funded capital reaches at least "the modest sum of Rupees twenty thousand" as estimated by the President. We are all grateful to him for having set his face against the recommendation of the Committee to increase the subscription and his reasons for not giving in, are indeed very sound. I am not unaware of the application of the Society to Government to transfer to their Library on trust, such books as are intimately connected with the work of this Society. I understand that this request, which is by no means unreasonable, has been repeated from time to time for the past four or five years. I hope His Highness' Government will consider the request favourably and grant it soon.

The work that this Society has been carrying on during the past decade of its existence is too well known, for me to dilate upon, on this occasion. The fair name of our beloved Mysore is made known to savants of the East as well as the West, not so much by our Blue books and Administration reports as by Journals of this Society and our Archaeological reports. There is an unlimited scope for exploration in the field of research, and the History of India presents a vast field for such exploration. We may begin nearer home by diving into the past of Mysore. No doubt something has been done in this direction, but a great deal more remains to be done, and I appeal to all ardent students of History to set this pleasant and profitable task to themselves. I would ask you to bear in mind, in this connection, the sound advice given by our worthy President in his most interesting address which, if carried out, would greatly enhance the interest of books and papers on Indian history. These suggestions are doubtless the outcome of vast knowledge and ripe experience in matters historical possessed by our venerable President. It has been aptly said that History is the Letter of Instructions,

which the old generations write and posthumously transmit to the new. It may not be out of place here to quote the following words of a great man of the last century, himself a great historian : " Let us search more and more into the past ; let all men explore it, as the true fountain of knowledge ; by whose light alone, consciously or unconsciously employed, can the present and the future be interpreted or guessed at." Without a knowledge of history there can be no growth of national pride, and its fruit, patriotism. It is obvious, therefore, that the importance of historical researches can never be overrated.

I do not wish to detain you any longer, at this late hour. It only remains for me to thank the Committee for having done me the honour of asking me to take the chair this evening and to wish the Society every success and prosperity.

A vote of thanks to the Chair proposed by Rao Bahadur B. P. Annaswamy Mudaliar, C.I.E., and duly seconded by Mr. S. Cadambi, B.A., L.C.E., Chief Engineer and Secretary to Government, Public Works Department, was passed with acclamation. The meeting terminated with three cheers for the Patron of the Society, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

FOUNDATION OF VIJAYANAGAR.

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VIJAYANAGAR is a subject of engrossing importance and taken generally to be too well known to require further research. The facile criticism has often been made that, since there is a standard work dealing with the History of Vijayanagar, no more attention need be paid to it at all. There is still a great deal of room for research work, and original research work at that. Original research work does not consist in history at any rate, and cannot possibly consist, in the discovery of facts only or the manufacture of new facts of history. Originality consists of course in the finding of new records of facts which must have been known to somebody, and what is more in new presentation of even known facts to let us see more of the hidden past.

The history of the foundation of Vijayanagar is taken to be so far available that it would be a superfluity in anybody to say anything about the foundation of Vijayanagar which can be of ordinary public interest. I hope to shew you to-night that what was taken to be well-known exhibits so many flaws in our knowledge that a great deal has yet to be known of the history of the foundation of Vijayanagar to make our knowledge of the event complete or even adequate.

The subject of the foundation of Vijayanagar ought to be of very great interest to the members of the Mythic Society, because recent researches in this particular branch of the subject explain that Vijayanagar is the direct outcome of an attempt by a sovereign ruler of Mysore, to secure national liberty for South India, a struggle for the beginning of which we have to go back 1500 years before the foundation of Vijayanagar. Vijayanagar was as such the offspring of the national efforts of the strongest dynasty which was purely Mysorean—the Kannada dynasty of the Hoysalas.

When Vijayanagar, a century after the battle of Talikota, went to ruin and got thoroughly broken up by the repeated attacks of the combined Mussalman States, there was only one Hindu State that survived to continue her traditions, and that happens to be the State of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. It must be to us an object of particular interest, and therefore I thought I might speak to you this evening on that particular theme.

The ordinarily available information in respect of the foundation of Vijayanagar shews that Vijayanagar was founded in a haphazard fashion.

Owing to the repeated invasions of the Muhammadans under the Khiljis and the Tughlaks, the Hindus of South India were so alarmed that one of the ruling families thought it worth their while to organize something like a common or joint resistance, and the good fortune of organizing this resistance fell to an young prince of the Kākatīya dynasty that ruled over Warangal in the Nizam's Dominions. This prince, Krishnappa, laid the first stone of the foundation of Vijayanagar. The next source of information which is purely Muhammadan in character is the usual Hindu tradition that Vidyāranya was performing a penance when two brothers Hakka and Bukka came on a hunting excursion; and being tired, chanced to come upon this Vidyāranya who was then absorbed in contemplation. They watched him at this auspicious place, because they thought that they found in him one who would help to stem the tide of the Muhammadan advance. When the sage returned to consciousness they sought the explanation of a peculiar phenomenon, a rabbit keeping at bay a lion or tiger. The sage predicted imperial greatness for the spot. Laying the foundation there, the disciples too resolved to stay there. That was the foundation of Vijayanagar.

A further study of the previous history and the history of the particular half century with which the foundation of Vijayanagar is specially connected, leads us to the inference of a very much more prosaic foundation for the great city. A hint of this can be had from the Muhammadan historians on the subject. It was a struggle in the south for its own distinct existence as against the all-destroying forces from the north. The struggle though slightly different in character, lasted ever since the day of the great Mauryan Emperor Asoka. The resistance practically started then, and has gone on through all the varying dynasties in the changing chapters of the history of South India. Till 1300 A.D. we find in one form or other the same struggle carefully maintained all through the changing fortunes both in the Dakhan and in the South. Vijayanagar is but one incident of that great struggle.

The whole of India south of the Narbada was divided into four parts about A.D. 1300. The country north of the river Krishna was divided into two halves. The eastern portion was the kingdom of Warangal and the western was then the Yādava kingdom of Deogir (Dēvagiri). South of the Krishna likewise the whole country was divided into two parts. The plateau portion was ruled by a dynasty that is Mysorean, with their capital in the place which now goes by the name of Halebīd.

The other portion was ruled over or dominated by the Pāndyan kings. One feature that gives character to South Indian History is, as I pointed out many years ago, "struggle for empire." The struggle for empire was dangerous, while it lasted; but coming to an end, resulted in the creation of a

new empire. So far as my knowledge of this history goes, it was clearly not a question of aggrandizement at the time. Something more fundamental was the moving factor in that struggle for empire.

The Government under the Hindu rule usually was organized into two clearly defined sections—local and imperial. Local Government remained unchanged in character from time immemorial and that was hardly affected by the changes of the dominating dynasty. The duty of the imperial government was to defend the country and guard against foreign invasion to which India had been always liable. So the imperial government was organized for purposes of war whereas the local government remained almost unchanged in its essential machinery or principles. The struggle for empire therefore meant necessarily a struggle for bringing about a common government for imperial purposes. That struggle both in Northern and Southern India failed to achieve a permanent result, and in that failure lies the tragedy of Indian history. Finally there came peace, and peace not of a permanent character to the country. That was the way that imperialists of earlier days groped their way ultimately to found an imperial organization, without the mechanical equipment which modern imperialism has ready to hand.

This ever changing "struggle for empire" among the Hindu powers was somewhat complicated by the irruption of the Muhammadans in the South. The coming of the Muhammadans made the usual active struggle imprudent, if not impossible, and the existing political division did not provide the imperial organization necessary to cope with the new enemy. The need therefore of imperial organization was brought home to the individual States constituting South India. They struggled and suffered, and in the periods of respite from the struggle they had slowly to mature the needful organization. This responsibility fell on the southern powers, among them, upon the Hoysalas as being nearest the danger zone and somewhat conveniently placed for carrying out a plan if not altogether unobserved at least a great deal unnoticed. The one ruler that was responsible for the organization of this South Indian resistance was the last Hoysala Vira Ballala III. His career as ruler and the history of South India of his time will show clearly the historical sequence that culminated in the foundation of Vijayanagar. The actual leading cause to this consummation was the progress of Muhammadan conquest in the South and the need for dislodging them from where they settled in what appeared a permanent occupation. This was the Muhammadan kingdom of Madura to the history of which we shall now pass.

The Muhammadan kingdom of Madura.—Malik Kafur's invasion of the south reached as far as Madura and Rāmēśvaram according to Amir Khusru's

circumstantial account of this southern invasion. It is also clear that although a few places he mentions are not yet capable of satisfactory identification, enough of his account could be made out to justify the statement that the objective of Malik Kafur after he left the territory of the Hoysalas was the country of Vira Pāṇḍya.*

There is very little doubt left that he marched in support of Vīra Pāṇḍya's rival Sundara Pāṇḍya whose territory proper was Madura and the country round it. When he returned early in A.D. 1312, Malik Kafur in all probability left a garrison behind to safeguard the position of his protégé Sundara Pāṇḍya. Almost the next year we find the Malabar king Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara of Kēraḷa in occupation of the country from the South Pennar to as far north as Poonamallee, may even be Nellore, indicating clearly that the so-called Muhammadan conquest meant at best no more than the occupation of Madura and a comparatively narrow district round it. Sultan Mubarak Khilji sent Khusru Khan against Ma'bar in A.D. 1318 either to regain lost hold, or it may be to make a fresh conquest of it. Whatever was the actual purpose, Khusru remained a whole year in Ma'bar and hatched his plot there to subvert the ruling dynasty at Delhi. Barni complains of his ill-treatment of the Muhammadan merchants there, and states that he developed his *hinduising* plot while there. This certainly cannot be held to mean that he took any direct part in encouraging the Hindus to throw off the Muhammadan yoke in the south. For South Indian History this may be held to mean no more than that he brought back to loyalty a certain amount of territory which remained under their control in the distant south. The revolution that followed immediately loosened the hold of the Muhammadans in the south, at least cut off communication between the headquarters and the distant Muhammadan garrison in Madura. Although Muhammad Tughlak was compelled to retire from Warangal in A.D. 1328, he sent out an invasion to Ma'bar which appears to have successfully reasserted the authority of Delhi in Madura.

We have coins of Muhammad Tughlak among those found in Madura bearing the dates equivalent to A.D. 1330, 1333 and 1334, a clear indication of the recognition of the authority of the Delhi Sultan in the distant south.† The coins of Jalalu-d-din Aḥsan Shah so far available to us

* Malik pursued the 'yellow-faced Bir' "to Birdhul" an old city of the ancestors of Bir." Elliott III. 90.

Paras Dalvi desired that "Bir Dhul" and "Bir Pāṇḍya" might be reduced. *Ibid.* p. 88. This could mean no more than the Chōla and Pāṇḍya country of Bir, or Vīra Pāṇḍya.

† There is a Tamil inscription in the as yet unpublished collection at Pudukkōṭṭai referring itself to the 9th year of *Muhammad Suratana* (Sultan Muhammad). The record is in the Gñāna-puriśvara Temple at Panalyūr in the Tirumeyyan Taluk of Pudukkōṭṭai, and refers to the settlement of a dispute without the interposition of Government or Royal Officers.

bear the equivalent of A.D. 1335, as the earliest date. This could be held to mark the date of his successful rebellion.* According to Ibn Batuta, Muhammad appointed Sheriff Jalalu-d-din Ahsan Shah to be Governor of "the country of Ma'bar, which is at a distance of six months' journey from Delhi. This Jalalu-d-din rebelled, usurped the ruling power, killed the lieutenants and agents of the sovereign, and struck in his own name gold and silver money."† The details that he gives of the legends upon the coins make it quite certain that this is the Jalalu-d-din Ahsan Shah of the Madura coins, which give the date, A.D. 1335, of the earliest known coins in his own name, as was pointed out above. This has to be noted carefully as it invalidates altogether the chronology of Ferishta. According to him this date would be about seven years later, namely, A.D. 1341.‡ It is this Ahsan Shah that both Barni and Ferishta refer to as Syed, Hasan and Hussun, respectively. Jalalu-d-din Ahsan Shah apparently overthrew the army sent by the Sultan Muhammad and declared himself independent in the next few years when he felt certain that Muhammad was not likely to march upon him himself, owing perhaps to the rebellion of Bahau-d-din and the resistance of Kampli which gave the rebel asylum. Ibn Batuta knew Jalalu-d-din as he had married one of the Sheriff's daughters, and was the friend of the Sheriff's son Ibrahim, the purse bearer of the Emperor Muhammad. When Muhammad heard of the rebellion, Ibrahim was sawn in two by Muhammad's order for the rebellion of the father. This Ahsan Shah was murdered by one of his nobles in A.D. 1340, and was succeeded by Alau-d-din Udaaji, another of the officers of Jalalu-d-din. This Udaaji ruled for about a year. At the end of it, after a successful battle with the Hindus (infidels), when he removed his helmet to drink water, he was shot dead on the spot by an arrow from an unknown hand. He was succeeded by a son-in-law of his who assumed the title Qutb-ud-din. He was killed in forty days, and was succeeded by Ghiyathu-d-din Dhāmaghāni, originally a trooper in the service of the Delhi Sultan. He had subsequently married one of the daughters of Ahsan Shah, and became a brother-in-law of Ibn Batuta. While Ibn Batuta was in South India on his way to China on the mission on which he was despatched by Muhammad in A.D. 1342, he met with an accident on the seas, and was hospitably received by this brother-in-law of his who, at the time, was

* There is another inscription in the Pudukoṭṭa collection at Rāngiam referring itself to Ādi Sultan's year 732, apparently the Hegira year, with details of date, the equivalent of Monday, March 9, A.D. 1332. Ādi Sultan is in all likelihood Muhammad; but it is barely possible it refers to Jalalu-d-din who must have become governor of Ma'bar in this year.

† Elliott III., p. 618.

‡ Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. 1, page 23, Calcutta Ed. of Cambray.

engaged in a campaign against the infidels near "Harekatu" of Ibn Batuta (identified with Arcot by the translator). Ghiyathu-d-din sent a party to receive Ibn Batuta and take him to his camp. Ibn Batuta gives some interesting details of Ghiyathu-d-din's doings which throw a lurid light upon the character of Muhammadan rule in the South. While Ibn Batuta accompanied him, when he moved from the camp towards the capital, he happened to fall in with a number of "idolators" with their women and children in clearing a road through the forest. He made them carry a number of stakes sharpened at both ends, and when morning broke he divided these prisoners into four groups, and led one party to each gate of the four entrances to the camp. The stakes that they carried were then driven into the ground at one end and the unfortunate wretches were impaled alive thereon. Their wives and children had their throats cut and left fastened to the posts. Ibn Batuta exclaims in horror "it was for this reason that God hastened the death of Ghiyathu-d-din." It is hardly necessary to add, to this blood-curdling story, others from Ibn Batuta.

His wars against the Hoysalas.—The Muhammadans could not have been left in peace, and there appears to have been ceaseless petty warfare particularly on the frontier. Ibn Batuta mentions a great victory that his host gained over "Bilal Deo" (Vira Ballāla III). This last great Ballāla had at least three capitals—Dvārasamudra in Mysore, Kundāṇi in Salem, and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in North Arcot. During the last fifteen years of his reign he was constantly in the last place, the reason for which being apparently the predatory activities of these southern Muhammadans, and the need for protection along this frontier. Tiruvaṇṇāmalai is on the main line of communication between Madura and the North. According to Ibn Batuta, Ballāla aimed at the conquest of the whole of the Coromandel Coast, and was able to put into the field a hundred thousand men not counting about twenty thousand Muhammadans whose services he enlisted. As against this, according to him, the Muhammadans had about six thousand troops of which half were worthless. "The conflict began at the town of Kabban,"* and the Hindus routed their enemies who retreated to Mutrah (Madura) their Capital. The Ballāla encamped close to the former place, which is described as one of the chief strongholds of the Muhammadans, and invested the place closely. Finding it impossible to defend themselves any longer the garrison asked for terms, and the Hoysala king offered to let them return to Madura under a safe conduct if they surrendered the town. He gave them also a fortnight's respite to send to the headquarters and obtain permission. On receipt of this information which was read out in the Mosque in the presence of all who had assembled

* Kannanur-Koppam near Śrirangam.

for prayer, the Muhammadans in Madura thought that the surrender of this fortress on any terms would be followed by their own destruction, and resolved to make an effort at raising the siege. They therefore secretly marched against the Hindu camp and threw the besieging army into confusion and ultimate flight. The old sovereign, who was about eighty years at the time according to Ibn Batuta, endeavoured to mount a horse and escape when he was taken prisoner by Nasiru-d-din, the nephew of the Sultan of Madura. He was about to kill the old man, not having recognised him, when a slave in attendance exclaimed 'it is the king'. "Whereupon he (the Ballāla) was taken prisoner and treated with apparent consideration; and, whilst under promise of eventual release, all his riches were extorted from him. He was then murdered and his skin stuffed with straw and hung from the walls of Mutrah (Madura), where Ibn Batuta says he saw it suspended."* This was the lamentable fate of the last great king of that dynasty. This event must have taken place just before the last known year of Ghiyathu-d-din, because soon after his return to Madura he lost his only son, his wife and his mother, by an attack of cholera, and himself died a fortnight later "from the effects of an aphrodisiac prepared by a Yogi." All these events had taken place before Ibn Batuta left Madura in the reign of his successor Nasiru-d-din.†

The Sultans of Madura subsequent to Ibn Batuta's departure.—This series of transactions took place between the years A.D. 1342 when Ibn Batuta was despatched from Delhi on his mission to China, and A.D. 1344 when finally he embarked for China from the port of Fatan (Pattanam). The last known inscriptional date for Ballāla III is 1342. He died about the end of that year,‡ Ghiyathu-d-din following in the course of a few weeks. Ghiyathu-d-din was succeeded by his nephew Nasiru-d-din who is said to have been a domestic servant at Delhi wherefrom he fled to his uncle Ghiyathu-d-din, soon after he became king. He obtained the consent of the nobles and the army for his accession by a lavish distribution of gold. Ibn Batuta himself received three hundred pieces of gold and a robe of honour. Almost the first act of Nasiru-d-din's was the killing of a son of his own paternal aunt, because he happened to be the husband of Ghiyathu-d-din's daughter. Having murdered the husband he married the widowed princess. It was in this reign that Ibn Batuta was provided with a number of ships to proceed on his journey. He embarked at Fatan (Pattanam) again, paid a short visit to the Maldives and Honawar, and set forward from there on a voyage taking Bengal, Sumatra and Java on the way to China ultimately. The only available coin

* Madras Journal of Literature and Science for 1888-89, page 53.

† For the whole of this, see Ibn Batuta French Trans. by C. Defremery and B. R. Sangüinetti IV. pp. 185-200.

‡ The 8th Sep. 1342 is the date of his death according to Kd. 75. Epig. Car. VI.

of Nasiru-d-din is dated A.H. 745 which would correspond to A.D. 1343. Then follows a break in the coins till we come upon one of Adil Shah with date A.H. 757 corresponding to A.D. 1356-57 or 1357-58. He was followed in A.H. 761 by Fakru-d-din Mubarak Shah for whom we have a number of coins bearing dates from A.H. 761 to 770. Then came the last of the Sultans, Allau-d-din Sikandar Shah whose coins bear dates A.H. 774—779. This find of coins of the Sultans of Madura* so far available gives us the history of Madura under the Muhammadans, meagre as it is. But it is well supplemented by Ibn Batuta for the greater part of the period. The dates of these coins range from A.D. 1335 to A.D. 1377-78 with what seems a comparatively large gap from 1344—1357, almost corresponding to the period of active rule of the Bahmani Sultan Allau-d-din I. What this gap might mean will appear later. The power of the Muhammadans in Madura appears to have come definitely to an end about 1377-78, the last year of the Vijayanagar ruler Bukka.

Muhammadan Dynasties of Madura.—It is this dynasty of the Sultans of Madura which flourished in the period A.D. 1335 to A.D. 1378, a period of about 45 years, that has been confounded with the succession list given by Nelson in the Manual of the Madura country, and adopted therefrom by Mr. Sewell in his Antiquities of the Madras Presidency, Volume II. Quite recently the reports of the Epigraphist to the Madras Government adopt the same scheme also. †

An examination of the list given both in Nelson and Sewell shews that the dynasty began with Adi Sultan Malik Nemi on the authority of the Mackenzie Manuscripts—one of those documents based on the local accounts obtained and recorded by Colonel Mackenzie's staff early in the Nineteenth Century. Of the six names that follow, it is possible to identify two or three with the Sultans of the coins of Madura whose history I have detailed above. The last three or four names seem not possible to recover or to equate satisfactorily. Adopting this list from Sewell, the Muhammadan dynasty is made to begin in A.D. 1310 and come to an end 48 years after in A.D. 1358. This arrangement, it is hardly necessary to point out, is untenable since the discovery of the coins of Madura and their study. No Muhammadan dynasty of Madura could be held to begin earlier than A.D. 1335 ‡ and the dynasty lasted till A.D. 1378 according to these coins with a rather wide gap from 1345 to 1357. Further criticism of Nelson's list would be superfluous.

* For this, refer to Dr. E. Hultzsch's article in the J.R.A.S. 1909. This supersedes previous contributions by Rodgers and others.

† Report for 1916, Sec. 33, p. 126.

‡ Refer to note above regarding the 9th year of Muhammad, p 16.

The Hoysalas during the period.—During the period of active rule of this dynasty, the Hoysala ruler was Vira Ballāla III, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1292 and continued to rule till A.D. 1342. During the last 20 years of his reign he had had to be very active on the Tamil frontier. We have already pointed out that in 1316 he had restored his capital of Dvārasamudra so far that he is said to have been ruling in great happiness* at his ancestral capital. This rebuilding of the capital by the Hoysala exhibits the advantage that was taken by the Hindu rulers of the south, of the confusion that prevailed at headquarters before Mubarak made his position secure on the throne at Delhi. We do not hear much of Vira Ballāla III from inscriptive sources till A.D. 1328-29, the year in which Muhammad-bin-Tughlak sent an invasion to the south after his own abortive expedition to Warangal. In spite of the rebuilding of his capital, the Hoysala does not figure either in the organization of the Mahratta country by Mubarak and the placing of Muhammadan garrisons in the various forts along the Hoysala frontier, or in the subsequent invasions of Ma'bar (Tamil country) by Khusru Khan. He probably was able to reorganize his resources quietly and unobserved. It was possibly about this time that he went farther afield from Dvārasamudra and laid the foundations of the city generally called Hosapattāna or Virūpākshapattāna, which ultimately became Vijayanagar, to secure his northern frontier. In the year A.D. 1328-29† we hear of Vira Ballāla for the first time at Uṇṇāmulai Paṭṭanam (Tiruvanṇāmalai).‡ He was ruling in peace and happiness at the same place in A.D. 1342. In the meanwhile one record of his states that in A.D. 1339 (Śaka 1261) he was ruling in happiness in Sri Vīra Vijaya Virūpākshapura as his residential capital (Nelēviḍu). He is further described in this record as the sole monarch by his own valour.§ In the following year a grant refers to the "paṭṭābhishēka of the prince" while Vira Ballāla was ruling.|| This is apparently a reference to the coronation of the prince which, according to a Chikka-magalur inscription, is said to have taken place at Hosapattāna. There is an inscription in the temple at Hampi referring itself to the Hoysalas,¶ indicating thereby that Hampi was in the territory of the Hoysalas. There is further an inscription of A.D. 1354 (Śaka 1276) which states that Bukka

* Md. 100. Epi. Car. III.

† Db. XIV. Epi. Car. IX.

‡ It must be noted that the two names are not the same though they both refer to the same place. The first means "lady of unsucked breast" a name of Pārvati. The second means the hill unreachable. These are respectively the names of the Goddess and the God.

§ Hoskote 43 Epi. Car. IX.

|| Bn. 111, Epi. Car. IX.

¶ A.S.R. 1907-08, p. 236, note 2.

was ruling from Hosapattana. The next year he is said to be in Vidyānagara, his capital. This series of facts would put it beyond doubt that Hosapattana and Vidyānagara are the same as Virūpākshapattana or Hampi, and that this had been recently fortified against eventualities sometime in or before A.D. 1339* by the Hoysala Vira Ballāla III himself. It is clearly stated in another record of Bukka that it is by the conquest of all the kingdoms that Bukka changed the name of his capital city to Vijayanagar. It would be a safe inference, therefore, to make from this sequence of facts that Vira Ballāla III was apparently preparing himself for possible campaigns both on the northern frontier and on the southern, and had his son anointed against eventualities, though this could only have meant the anointment of the prince in the yauvarājya (heir-apparentcy) as Vira Ballāla is definitely stated to be ruling. The next year a record from Mālūr gives Vira Ballāla his full titles, and among them is one which ascribes to him the setting up of a pillar of victory at the beginning of "the bridge" at Ramēśvaram (sētu mūla jaya-stambha). † This would be of date A.D. 1342 (April-May). The next year (the Śaka year) he is said to be fighting at Trichinopoly against the Muhammadans. This statement is found clearly enough in a Viragal (hero-stone) at a village in the Kadur district. It was a stone set up in honour of a gauḍa Kankayya who fell in battle with the Muhammadans "and went to heaven along with the king." The stone was actually set up in Śaka 1290 in the year Plavanga, but the actual occurrence of the death, referred to in the record, § is stated to have taken place in the year Chitrabhānu preceding, Asvayuja Su. 8 (a date corresponding to A.D., 8th September 1342). But the most important point in the reading of this inscription is the place. I was able to examine the inscription through the kindness of Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachariar, Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, and the reading is *Chirichirapati*. It is only the letter "ra" that is worn in the first half, but there is little doubt that it is "ra." The whole word, therefore, is a Kannada pronunciation of Trichinopoly, which must be the locality of the battle in which Vira Ballāla III fell.||

* Mr. Rice notes the date as 1329 on page 107 of Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions. It is obviously an error as Śaka 1261 cannot be A.D. 1329.

† Vijitya Viśvam Vijayābhidhānām Viyvūttaram yo nagarīm Vijadatta. Cn. 156 of A.D. 1378. Epi. Car. V.

‡ Mr. 82 Epi. Car. X.

§ Kd. 75. Epi. Car. VI.

||Mr. Rice has wrongly read the name as Beribi (Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, p. 108). This error is found in the translation of Kd. 75. Epi. Car. VI. The transliteration gives it as *Chirichi-palliyalu*. The Kannada version gives it Chirichi-palli. Hence the difficulty and the need for verification.

We have a more or less circumstantial account of this transaction from Ibn Batuta who was in the country at the time, and was in Madura soon after. The battle took place apparently as was stated already between Ghiyathu-d-din, the Sultan of Madura and a relative of Ibn Batuta, and Vira Ballāla III. But Ibn Batuta calls the place of battle Cobban, the nearest South Indian equivalent of which could be only Koppam. With this particular record of Vira Ballāla before us we must of necessity look out for a Koppam of some strategical importance to have become the scene of such constant wars between the Muhammadans and the Hoysalas. Luckily for us we have a reference to a Koppam in an inscription of Jatāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. In the preamble to this inscription* he refers to the place Kaṇṇanūr as Kaṇṇanūr-Koppam. And this is apparently the Koppam or Cobban of Ibn Batuta. In connection with this identification it must be borne in mind that, according to the account of this Muhammadan traveller who certainly did know what he was describing, this Cobban was a place of vital strategical importance; for, according to him, if Cobban fell, the position of the Muhammadans in Madura would have become impossible. To this description Kaṇṇanūr would answer very well. That Kaṇṇanūr passed into the possession of the Muhammadans either during the invasion of Malik Kafur himself, or in the interval between that and this last battle is clear as the place which was the capital of Vira Rāmanātha, and perhaps even his son, to the time of accession of Vira Ballāla III, does not find mention in any of the records of this Vira Ballāla. The change of capital to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in 1328 as we know it, it might have been much earlier, finds an explanation in this that Kaṇṇanūr must have been lost to the Hoysalas before that period and must have been the base of active operations against the Hoysala territory in the Tamil country. It is as a counter-work to the Muhammadan position in Kaṇṇanūr which is on the trunk road leading from the north to Madura that Tiruvaṇṇāmalai must have been pitched upon as the capital of the Hoysalas. Tiruvaṇṇāmalai connects with the Hoysala capitals Kundāni and Dvārasamudra, on the one hand, and with Kaṇṇanūr on the other, and is certainly well situated for preventing reinforcements reaching the Muhammadans from the north. The distance between Trichinopoly and Kaṇṇanūr is only about 8 or 9 miles at the best, and if anything like a large army of 100,000 operated on the side of the Hoysalas, as Ibn Batuta clearly states that that was the strength of the army, that distance between the two camps would be even necessary.† The town Trichinopoly is referred to by that name, although not yet found in inscriptions.

* Sen Tamil, Vol. 4, p. 515.

† Consult Orme's Early Campaigns of the British in this locality, or better Mr. Hemingway's Trichinopoly Gazetteer.

records, in the Tevāram of Śambandar in the seventh century A.D. and is referred to as the headquartes of a small division, Tiruchirāpalli Uśāvaḍi,* under Dēvarāya I in the fifteenth century. There is the probability that the place is referred to by this name in the fourteenth century in a Pudukoṭṭa Inscription of the eighth year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Parākrama Pāṇḍya which contains a signature Tiruchirāpalli Uḍaiyān. Hence it is clear that the Cobban of Ibn Batuta is no other than Kaṇṇanūr, and it is in that vicinity that the last battle of Vira Ballāla III was fought.

About 11 months after this event we have a record executing a grant on the occasion of the coronation of the Hoysala prince by Ballappa Daṇḍayaka. This Ballappa figures several times in the records of Vira Ballāla III, and it is just possible that he was "the son-in-law of the Ballāla" of the Kolar records. In this grant which is dated Śaka 1265 Svabhānu, sometime in A.D. 1343 (July-August), Vira Bellāla is not mentioned as ruler and we are therefore led to infer that this time it is the anointment of the prince as sovereign. The last record of this new ruler who might, for convenience, be named Ballāla IV, or Virūpāksha Ballāla, is one dated the following Vyaya which refers itself to the time of Ballālarāya. This would be the equivalent of A.D. 1346-47, and we hear no more of the Hoysalas after this date.

Ibn Batuta in South India.—It was during this period that the Algerian traveller Ibn Batuta, who entered India in A.D. 1333 and resided in the court of Sultan Muhammad for about 10 years, stayed sometime in South India in the course of his embassy to China on behalf of the Emperor. Sultan Muhammad received an embassy from China requesting permission to repair or rebuild some temple in a place called Sambhal, probably the one in Eastern Rājaputāna. The Sultan declined permission on the ground that, under the Muhammadan Law, it was not permissible to allow of the erection of heretical temples unless those that wish to build them paid the Jiziya (poll-tax on infidels). If the "Celestial Emperor" would agree to put himself on those terms Muhammad would have no objection to grant the permission. Ibn Batuta, with the necessary paraphernalia of the mission, started from Delhi and proceeded across India to the coast of Konkan, wherefrom he proceeded along the coast by way of Goa, but took ship for Calicut at a port called Kandahar. He halted at Honawar (Hinur) where he remained a guest of Sultan Jamalu-d-din Muhammad. After a three days' sail from there he reached the island Sindabur; therefrom he set forward on the two months' march along the coast to Kulam (Quilon). He had to pass through the territory of "the 12 Sultans of Malabar," passing through the towns of

* Ep. Rep. for 1914, Sec. 27.

Abusah and Fakanur. He came to Mangalore after a three days' sail from the latter place. The next important port that he touched at was Hili (near Cannanore) which at the time was one of the three ports of call for the Chinese merchants on the Malabar coast, namely, Hili, Calicut and Kulam. Starting again from there, he passed Jarfattan and two other coast towns, Dahfattan and Budfattan, till he reached Fandaraina. Starting thence he reached Calicut where the embassy was to take ship on its voyage to China. There happened to be at the time in this port 13 Chinese vessels composed of the three kinds, large ships or *Junks*; the middle-sized once called *Zan*, and the small ones known as *Kakams*. Each junk was manned by 600 sailors and carried 400 warriors. They contained decks, cabins, saloons and holds for merchandise. Each oar of these ships was worked by 15 men, and every junk was accompanied by three of the smaller craft. Three of these ships were set apart for the imperial mission, and before all of the men could embark all the junks had to leave the port owing to stress of weather, and several of them suffered shipwreck. Ibn Batuta who remained on the shore was left there and the *Kakam* containing all his belongings set sail as soon as it saw the fate that had overtaken the fleet as a whole. Ibn Batuta hearing that the *Kakam* would put in at Kulam started towards the place by the river-way and reached Kulam in safety in 10 days. He found it a handsome town frequented by Chinese merchants, the port being most conveniently situated for them. The town was under its Hindu ruler. He there met the Chinese envoys who had travelled down from Delhi and who had also suffered shipwreck in the voyage. Giving up the idea of returning to Delhi which he entertained for a little while, he accepted the advice of an imperial agent at Calicut and proceeded to Honawar, where he was the respected guest of the Sultan. He took part in an expedition against the Island of Sindabur which was ultimately conquered by the Sultan of Honawar. While there, he learnt from two of his slaves that managed to return to India that all his property including his slaves were taken possession of by others and had been dispersed over Java, China and Bengal. Notwithstanding this depressing news, he returned to Sindabur as he promised, and, as disturbances broke out there again, he left the place and reaching Calicut resolved to pay a visit to the Maldivian islands. There he stayed for sometime and contracted relations that made his departure difficult. Finally he managed to obtain permission to depart. He then paid a visit to Ceylon, where landing at Puttalam he found the Indian chieftain Āriya Chakravarti in possession of the locality who received him kindly and conversed with him in Persian. Through his good offices and with the escort provided by him he paid a visit to Adam's Peak, and returned to Puttalam. He started from there for Ma'bar, and in the course

of his voyage, he suffered shipwreck. While he had almost given himself up for lost, some native inhabitants of the coast near about rescued him from this perilous position. On reaching ashore he sent word to the Sultan of Ma'bar, Ghiyathu-d-din who had married a sister of one of the wives that Ibn Batuta had married in Delhi. But Ghiyathu-d-din was at the time engaged in the siege of a place called Harikatu, wherefrom he sent an escort to fetch Ibn Batuta. Ibn Batuta arrived in camp on the second day. What Ibn Batuta saw there, and what he really has to say about the doings of Ghiyathu-d-din, we have already related in part before. He was a cruel monarch engaged constantly in war against the Hindus under the Hoysala monarch Vira Ballāla III. In addition to the single instance of cruelty given there, Ibn Batuta details other instances. Ibn Batuta persuaded the Sultan to fit out an expedition for the conquest of the Maldives islands and was himself entrusted with the commission. This had to stand over for sometime as the chief admiral, Khojah Sarlak as he is called, insisted that it would take at least three months to fit out the expedition, during which time Ibn Batuta had no alternative but to wait. In the meanwhile was fought the decisive battle of Cobban, as Ibn Batuta calls it, and the death of the family of Ghiyathu-d-din and himself followed soon after. Under his successor Nasiru-d-din, Ibn Batuta stayed for a short while in Madura. It was then that he insisted upon returning in spite of the fact that the fleet of Khojah Sarlack was not yet ready. Nasiru-d-din issued orders to place such ships as were available in the port of Fatan at his disposal. Ibn Batuta reached Fatan and took ship there to the Maldives back again on his way to Calicut and Honawar; from Calicut he took ship again and this time he had a prosperous voyage till he reached Bengal. What is of importance to South Indian History is that he left Delhi early in 1342 and left Fatan sometime in 1343-44; and what he relates of South India has reference to this particular period. We have already seen, on the authority of the inscription on the *Vīragal* in the Kadur district, that Vira Ballāla III died on the 8th of September 1342. Ghiyathu-d-din's death must have followed in the next few months, that is, about the end of the year or early in the next. We have coins of Ghiyathu-d-din of date A.H. 745 the equivalent of which, in Christian era, would be A.D. 1344. It must be in the course of that year 1344 that he left Madura for Fatan and took his departure from Calicut in the following year for China.

Break in the Coinage of the Sultans of Madura, A.D. 1343-4 to 1355-6.— To return to the Sultans of Madura; we have coins of Nasiru-d-din, the successor of Ghiyathu-d-din, only of date A.H. 745. That would mean A.D. 1344. From that date to A.H. 757 there is a break in the coinage for an interval of about 12 years. It would be rather difficult to believe

that this is due to a mere accident. We have already stated that between the Sultans of Madura and the Hoysalas there were constant wars along the Kaveri-Coleroon frontier—the same frontier on which the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysalas had constantly to fight in the period immediately preceding. The death of Vira Ballāla could not have put an end to this war. His successor Ballāla IV must have continued the wars of his father for the next two or three years during which time he must have been ruling. The last inscriptional date we get for him is a date in A.D. 1346 as was already pointed out. It is just possible that he also fell in fighting against the Sultans of Madura about that particular period, say, about A.D. 1345-6, that Muhammad bin Tughlak had involved himself in the greatest difficulties in his empire, and there was a famine if the chronology of the Muhammadan historians could be accepted without question. The Sultan Muhammad perpetrated the double blunder of recalling the capable Katlagh Khan from Deogir, and appointing the incompetent and unpopular slave Aziz Himar, Governor of Malva, whose perfidy to ‘the foreign Amirs,’ at the instance of the Sultan himself, created the rebellion in Gujarat which terminated only after the death of the Sultan. Nasarat Khan broke out in rebellion in Bidar and Einu-l-Mulk of Oudh followed near the imperial headquarters at Sarg-Dwari. It is to this date that the Muhammadan historians refer the rising in Telingana under Krishnappa Nāyaka,* one of the sons of Pratāparudra II of Warangal. This series of rebellions all over the empire would not have been lost upon the more distant south. There is an inscription of date 1328 when a Māchaya Daṇṇāyaka was ruling at Penugonda as a subordinate of Vira Ballāla III. Somewhat later Ibn Batuta himself says that his friend at Honawar Jamalu-d-din Muhammad was the greatest Sultan in the West Coast. He was himself subordinate to “an infidel king whose name is Horaib.” This Horaib could be no other than Hariappa Uḍaiyār, the eldest of the five brothers to whom is given the credit of having founded the empire of Vijayanagar. This must have been before A.D. 1344. The latest known date for this Harihara is A.D. 1346.† A record of date equal to A.D. 1352 (Śaka 1274)‡ refers to “Vira Bukka Rāyalu, ruling at Dhorasamudra and

* This was apparently the eldest son and successor of Pratāparudra who died according to Shamsi Siraj Afif on his way to Delhi whereto Muhammad sent him probably in A.D. 1328. (Elliot III. 367).

This is confirmed by a Telugu historical Manuscript *Pratāpacharitam*, according to which his death took place at Mantenna on the Godavari. This Mantenna is otherwise called Mantrakūta and figures in the inscriptions of Kākatiya Rudra I. (Vide Anamakonda Ins. Indian Antiquary XI, pp. 9-20).

† A.S.R. 1907-08, p. 236 and Refs. in Note 7.

‡ Epi. Rep. for 1918, Sec. 47.

Penugoṇḍa." The same grant refers to Bukka as an "elevator of the Hoysala empire." It would be difficult to regard this position of Bukka as having been achieved in a very short time, and by a person unconnected with the Hoysala administration. There is one other fact which exhibits a similar tendency and which must be noted here. In the early wars of Allau-d-din Bahmani when he marched south from Daulatabad after the death of Muhammad bin Tughlak he met on the southern frontier, and therefore the more uncertain frontier of his, one Hindu chieftain by name Harib in the region of the Konkan coast up to Jamkhanḍi. A little further to the east of it between Bijapur and Gulbarga figures another Hindu chief by name Kapras; and further east another Hindu chieftain still of the name Kampraz. This has reference to the year A.D. 1352. These three Hindu chieftains are obviously no other than Hariappa (Harib), Bukkappa Razu (Kapraz), and Kampa Razu (Kampana), the three elder of the five brothers to whom inscriptions of the time ascribe the foundation of the empire of Vijayanagar; the two other brothers Muddappa and Marappa are found just behind this front line. One of them was the viceroy obviously under Hariappa of the Malē and Tuļu Rajya with his capital at Āraga in the Shimoga district of Mysore, and the other was in charge of Muļbāgal Mahārājya in the south-eastern corner of Mysore, and fronting the Tamil country. This series of facts that emerge from a scrutiny of the inscriptional records of the period leads necessarily to the inference that the wars were still going on, and the kingdom of the Hoysala had to fight on the two sides, of which the northern side exhibits to us this impenetrable wall of garrisons under the five brothers, fighting to stem the new flood of Bahmani invasions and keep it within its bounds.

The explanation of the break in the coinage of the Sultans of Madura.—What actually did take place in the same period on the southern frontier is not equally clear; but a record at Tirukalākkudi referring itself to the 31st year of a Māravarman Vira Pāṇḍya, which gives details of date to equate it satisfactorily, refers to the conquest of the Muhammadans in the south by Kumāra Kampana, the son of the 3rd of the five brothers Bukka. This record states "the times were Tulukkan (Muhammadan) times; the *dēvadāna* (gifts to gods) lands of the gods were taxed with *Kudimai* (dues of cultivation); the temple worship, however, had to be conducted without any reduction; the *uḷavu* or cultivation of the temple lands was done by turns by the tenants of the village; at this juncture Kampana Uḍāiyar came on his southern campaigns, destroying Tulukkans, established a stable administration throughout the country and appointed many chiefs (Nāyakkanmār) for inspection and supervision in order that the worship in all temples might be revived

regularly as of old." * The date of this record from the astronomical details given has been equated with A.D. 1358 (Friday, September 7). If by 1358 all this had been done by Kumāra Kampana and there is no particular reason to doubt the record, then the invasion by Kampana of the south must have taken place somewhat earlier. Does this not offer the explanation of the break in the coinage of the Sultans of Madura? If it does, it means that the Vijayanagar invasions had taken place during this period, and either the Madura Sultan Nasiru-d-din himself (or his successor) suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Hindus and the rule of the Muhammadans was put an end to, at least temporarily. Its revival about this time, A.D. 1355-56, in Madura must be a comparatively faint effort, and when even that nominal rule in Madura was put an end to sometime in A.D. 1375-6, the time had arrived for the Vijayanagar ruler Harihara II to announce himself formally to the world as the 'emperor of the south.'

In this connection, there are two records found in the temple of Tiruppattūr, now in the Ramnad district, which refer themselves to the 44th and 46th years of a Jaṭavarman Tribhuvana Chakravartin Vira Pāṇḍya Dēva, which refer to these Muhammadan invasions also, and throw a certain amount of light upon the history of the period. The Jaṭavarman Vira Pāṇḍya of these records is undoubtedly the Vira Pāṇḍya against whom Malik Kafur undertook his invasions of the south. The Śiva temple at Tiruppattūr is said in one of these records to have been in the 'occupation of the encamped Muhammadans whose time it was,' and in consequence to have been ruined. In this condition a certain Viśaiyālaya Dēvar of Śūraikkuḍi, otherwise Ariyan Periyanāyanar reconsecrated the temple. Out of gratitude for this pious act of his, by which the people imagined they were saved from some impending calamity, they assigned to him a specified quantity of corn from the harvest reaped by every individual each year, and conferred on him also certain privileges in the temple. † All this took place in the 44th year of the Pāṇḍya referred to above. According to the calculations of the late Professor Kielhorn and confirmed by those of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, this Vira Pāṇḍya ascended the throne in A.D. 1296-97, and the reconsecration of the Tiruppattur temple must have therefore reference to the year A.D. 1340, when apparently Vira Pāṇḍya was still alive, and his authority was recognised in this part of the country. The other record referring to this event is of a date two years later, that is A.D. 1342: It will be well to remember in this connection that the years 1340-42 were the years in which the Hoysala

* Epi. Rep. 1916, Sec. 33.

† This family of Śūraik-kudi chiefs played an important part in the period and that immediately following, as there are a number of records of these in the Pudukkotṭa collection.

Vira Ballāla III made a serious effort at hemming in the Muhammadans into Madura with a view ultimately to turn them out of the place. It is an inscription of A.D. 1340, as was pointed out already, that lays claim to his having erected a pillar of victory at "the root" (Sētumūla) of Adam's Bridge. It must also be noted that it is about the end of the year A.D. 1342 that he died as the result of a battle at Kaṇṇanūr. The Tiruppattūr records indicate that he was in the main so successful in the effort that even restoration work could be undertaken. The statement of Ibn Batuta that this Hindu ruler wanted to take the whole of Ma'bar is thus justified.

It was apparently after the death of this Vira Ballāla, and possibly after that of his son, that the chieftain brothers who took upon themselves the responsibility of clearing South India of the Muhammadans should have continued the policy of the last Hoysalas. It is worth remarking in this connection that the wars of Kumāra Kampana, the son of Bukka, detailed in the *Kamparāya Charitam* of *Gangādēvi* may have to be brought in into this interval A.D. 1343 to A.D. 1355-56. The two enemies against whom Kamparāya won victories were the Śambuvarāyans of the North Arcot and Chingleput districts, and the Sultan of Madura. Without going into full details, this poem and several other works, Telugu and Sanskrit, state it indubitably that Kampa and his colleagues in the campaign did overthrow one Śambuvarāyan, and restored the kingdom to another taking the title Śambuvarāya (or Sans. Champurāya) Sthāpanāchārya (he that established Śambuvarāya in his position). It must also be remembered that the kingdom of these chieftains is called Rāja Gambhira Rājyam.* This Rājagambhira Rājyam was hitherto taken to mean either the Pāndya country because a certain Pāndya assumed the title, or the Chola country because a Chola king, at a slightly earlier period, had assumed this title. But it now turns out to be neither. The name of the kingdom seems to be derived from the hill fortress which was its citadel, and which apparently refers to Paḍaiviḍu in the Arni Jaghir. This is not all. One of the predecessors of this Śambuvarāyan called himself Rājagambhira Śambuvarāyan† in an inscription of A.D. 1268 in Paḍaiviḍu itself. The epic of *Gengādēvi* refers to the siege of the hill Rājagambhiram in the course of the war,‡ thus making it clear that the Rājagambhira Rājyam was no other than the kingdom of the Śambuvarāyans. It looks very probable that it was Sakalaloka Chakravartin Venṭu Maṅgonda Śambuvarāyan, whose date of

* Tiruppuṭkuli Inscription of A.D. 1365, No. 18 of 1899.

† S. Ind. Ins. 1, 78 of Śaka 1180.

‡ Atha tasya purīmēva nītvā śibiratām nrpaḥ! achalam Rājagambhīramarundat dvisa, dāśṛtam !! Kamparāyacharitam. IV. 32.

accession is Śaka 1245 (A.D. 1322-23) that was overthrown by Kampana sometime about A.D. 1347, which is the first date of his successor Sakalaloṭa Chakravartin Rāja Nārāyana Śambuvarāyan. This achievement of Kumāra Kampana must have followed close upon the disappearance of the last Hoysala Ballāla IV, either by natural death or otherwise, as his last date is 1346. It is in this campaign that he is taken further as far as Madura, where he overthrew in actual battle, and killed, the Sultan of Madura. Among the attributes given to this Sultan by the poetess is one, which seems to mean much more than meets the eye. He is described to be "one who reduced to a low condition the Chola and Pāṇḍya by his valour, who proved the hatchet to the creeper, the prosperity of the Ballāla."* This gives a clear indication that that was the man whose active existence in Madura was the cause of the destruction of the prosperity of the Hoysalas. This reference may be held directly to indicate that the particular Sultan who was responsible for the death of the Hoysala, was Sultan Nasiru-d-din who succeeded his uncle Ghiyathu-d-din in A.D. 1343. There is only one date on his coins, as was pointed out already, and that is A. H. 745; and an interregnum of 12 years followed immediately after this date. It is this state of things that we seem to find an echo of in the Tarik-i Firoz Shahi of Shams-i Siraj 'Afif. "While the Sultan was at Delhi, attending to the affairs of his kingdom, ambassadors arrived from Ma'bar to state a grievance to him. Kurbat Hasan Kangu was king in Ma'bar. When Sultan Muhammad Shah died, and Sultan Firoz succeeded, his edicts were sent into Ma'bar; but the people of that country rebelled, and, going to Daulatabad, they made Kurbat Kangu, king of Ma'bar. When this Kurbat held his court, he appeared decked out hand and foot with female ornaments, and made himself notorious for his puerile actions. The men of Ma'bar saw this, and, being greatly incensed against him, they rebelled. The neighbouring chief, named Bakan, at the head of a body of men and elephants, marched into Ma'bar and made Kurbat Hasan Kangu prisoner. He made himself master of all Ma'bar, which had belonged to the Muhammdans; their women suffered violence and captivity in the hands of the Hindus and Bakan established himself as ruler of Ma'bar." As his army was all along engaged in war and wanted rest, the Sultan declined to interfere according to this author. When sometime after his army volunteered to go for the conquest of Ma'bar, the

* Parākrama (dhaḥ) kṛta Chola Pāṇḍyah
Vallāla sampallatikā Kuṭhāram !

ranonmukham Kampanrpopiyandanit

Vīraḥ Suratrāṇamudagraśauryaḥ !!

NOTE.—Instead of *dhaḥ*, (*nnyak*) is the MS. reading.
Kamparāyacharitam Trivandrum Edn. p. 82.

Sultan was persuaded to decline to interfere again on the advice of his general Khani-Jahan who objected to going to war against Musalmans. What is worth remarking in this extract is that notwithstanding the confusion in the name Kurbat Hasan Kangu and Daulatabad, the whole transaction seems to refer to what took place in the region of the Coromandel and not in the Dekhan. The puerile action the Sultan is charged with has not been ascribed to the founder of the Bahmani kingdom in any other account ; and the whole matter has reference to what took place immediately after the death of Sultan Muhammad in A.D. 1351. By this time the five brothers who were the successors of the Hoysalas in their campaigns against the Muhammadans of Madura, had achieved all that is ascribed to the chief Bakan, who could be no other than the Bukka of Hindu historical records. So in the early fifties of the thirteenth century the Muhammadan power in South India suffered an eclipse from which it emerged, for a period of about 20 years, only to suffer extinction. When again that power was destroyed, the restoration of the country to the Hindus is signalled by the restoration of Śrirangam to its ancient glory and greatness in A.D. 1370-71. This brings us to the end of Muhammadan rule in the south ; and the assumption of imperial titles by the Vijayanagar ruler Harihara II comes in at a period when there was not the faintest chance of any recovery by the Muhammadans of their position in South India. It is the position of the Muhammadans in the South that explains what appears the inexplicable delay in the assumption of imperial titles by these chieftains even when their possession of the South had become an accomplished fact.

NOTE.—For a fuller treatment of this subject and the various connected matters bearing on it consult my forthcoming work "South India and her Muhammadan Invaders".

THE KARNATAK AND ITS PLACE IN [REDACTED] INDIAN HISTORY.

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INTRODUCTION.

A careful student of Indian history who reads the recognised histories of India written by Vincent Smith, Rapson and others will be struck with wonder at the disproportionately small space that is allotted to the history of Southern India and especially that of Karnatak. The impression that he will carry with him will be that Southern India has got very few incidents worth mentioning and that it has played quite an insignificant part in history in ancient times : but this is not true. As a matter of fact, Deccan also has got its glorious past and had occupied for many centuries a pre-eminent position in India.

Definition of the term "The Karnatak History".—Before proceeding further, I must first clear one misunderstanding about the word "The Karnatak History." In no book of history on India do we find the word "Karnatak" used for the dynasties that ruled in the part of the country that is peopled by Kanarese-speaking public. The word that is invariably used is "Maharāshtra." The early Chālukyan dynasties, the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Western Chālukyas, the Dēvagiri Yādavas and even the kings of Vijayanagar are all huddled together under the name of Maharāshtra although the capitals of those dynasties lay in the midst of Kanarese country, although their inscriptions and almost all their copper-plates are in the Kanarese language, and although those kings spoke Kanarese language and were patrons of that language. So, the first thing that I want to emphasise is that the word "Maharāshtra" is a misnomer. It is but natural and proper to call those kings "Karnatak kings." This mistake was perhaps due to the fact that our revered scholar Dr., Sir Bhandarkar who first attempted to work out with great effort a connected history of the Deccan used the word "Maharāshtra" for the strip of land that was ruled over by Pūlakeshin and other Chalukyan kings. It appears that Dr., Sir Bhandarkar was misled by the word "Maharāshtra" in the Aihole inscription and by the word "Moholoch" in Huen-Tsang's travels. The word used in the Aihole inscription is महाराष्ट्रकाणां त्रयाणां ruling over three Maharāshtras. This is not the place to show Dr., Sir Bhandarkar's mistake. But lest we may be lured into the same mistake again it is better to give a warning that the history of those dynasties should not be called "The Maharāshtra history." For, it denotes

neither the history of the country called *Maharāshtra* nor the history of the people who spoke the Marathi language. Perhaps it is due to some such misgiving that Dr., Sir Bhandarkar himself named his history the "History of the Deccan," and not the History of the *Maharāshtra*. Moreover, the historians of the Maratha country have, it appears, recognised this fact as they have not worked on the lines laid down by Dr., Sir Bhandarkar in that history. Dr. Fleet styled these dynasties as the dynasties of the Kanarese country. Therefore, when I use the word "Karnatak history," I should be understood to mean the history of the country which is peopled by Kanarese people and of the kingdoms over which they ruled. The Kadambas, the Gangas, the Western Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Chālukyas of Kalyan, the Yādavas, Kalachūryas, the Vijayanagar kings were all Karnatak kings.

Mr. Vincent Smith's remarks about Karnatak.—Every true Karnatak gentleman will be pained to read in Mr. Vincent Smith's History of India the following remarks :—"The story of the great Southern kingdoms being known too imperfectly to permit of treatment on the same scale necessarily occupies less space." (p. 9). This is about the want of materials. Regarding its importance, he says :—"The researches of Dr. Fleet, Prof. Keilhorn and many other patient scholars have revealed in outline much of the history of the kingdoms of the Deccan plateau lying between the Narmada on the north and the Krishna and Tungabhadra on the south from the 6th century after Christ. *"But the details are mainly of local interest and can never attract the attention of the outer world to the same degree as can the history of the northern empires constantly in touch with the world"* (pp. 6 and 7. The italics are mine). He further says, " Except on the rare occasions when an unusually enterprising sovereign of the north either penetrated or turned the forest barrier and for a moment lifted the veil of secrecy in which the Southern potentates lived enwrapped, very little is known concerning political events in the far south during the long period extending from 600 B.C. to 900 A.D." To use the words of Elphinstone, " no connected relation of the national transactions of Southern India in remote times can be written, and an Early History of India must perforce be concerned mainly with the north."

These statements are not accurate. It is neither true that the history of Karnatak is wanting in materials. Nor is it true that it is of less importance. In the treatment of the subject let us follow Mr. Smith himself.

Sources of Karnatak history.—Mr. Smith has classified the sources of history into : 1. tradition ; 2. writings of foreign travellers ; 3. evidence of archaeology ; which may be subdivided into (a) the monumental, (b) the epigraphic, (c) numismatic ; and 4. works of native contemporary or nearly

contemporary literature. In none of these branches are the materials wanting in regard to Karnatak history.

Important periods in Karnatak history.—In the north, connected history begins from about the 3rd century B.C., and closes at about the middle of the 7th century. Great kings like Chandragupta, Asoka, Pushyamitra, Vikramaditya, Kanishka, Samudragupta and Harshavardhana ruled in the north. Of these, kings like Asoka, Samudragupta and Harshavardhana ruled over extensive territories. In the south we have very few traces dating before the Christian Era. A few references here and there are not wanting. But no connected history can be written with that slender stock of knowledge. But from the beginning of the Christian era we have got glimpses about the dynasties of Kadambas, Pallavas and Gangas, etc., who were ruling over different parts of the Kanarese country. When we come to about the 5th century, we have got materials from which we can compose a detailed and continuous history of Karnatak. Another important thing to be remembered is that under the western Chālukyas the whole of Karnatak and also the surrounding territories of Mahārāshtra in the north, of Āndhra in the east and of Chera, Chola and Pandya in the south came under the sway of Karnatak Chālukya kings. Pūlakeshi II (609 to 642) ruled over the whole of the Southern Peninsula from the Narmada downwards. This extensive territory continued to be enjoyed by his successors who ruled up to 757; when Rāshtrakūtas occupied their place and began to rule over the vast dominions of the Chālukyas. Early Chālukyas had their capital in Bādāmi which is in the heart of the Kanarese country. Rāshtrakūtas also had their capital in the midst of the Kanarese country, viz., Malakhed. After a rule of 250 years, the Rāshtrakūtas succumbed to the rule of the Chālukyas who shifted their capital to Kalyan, a Kanarese town in the Nizam's dominions and ruled from there over the vast territories as before. Under these Chālukyas the kingdom extended sometimes to the north of the Narmada on one side and up to Bengal and Assam in the north-east. After a vigorous rule of about 200 years they were succeeded by Kalachuryas. They did not rule long. Internal quarrels arose. The whole country was divided into two halves. The northern portion was occupied by the Yādavas, who made Dēvagiri their capital and the southern country south of the Tungabhadra was occupied by Höysala Yādavas who made Dwārasamudra and Bēlur their capitals. The beginning of the 14th century saw the rule of Vijayanagar kings. In the 13th century the Muhammadans had pierced through the Vindhya range and by that time the kingdoms of the south had lost all their vitality and were succumbing to it one by one. In the meanwhile, all the scattered forces were consolidated into the Vijayanagar empire which withstood for two centuries

the onslaught of Muhammadans. In the battle of Talikot in 1565, the Vijayanagar empire was cut to pieces by the Muhammadans. That was the last of the Karnatak dynasties. Since that time the care of India (southern) and Hindu religion fell to the lot of the Marathas who tried their best to preserve the integrity of the country and of religion but only succeeded partially and of the Mysore Wodeyars.

Tradition—In reconstructing the history of the Karnatak, we have the following materials :—

As to traditions, north as well as the south are both bankrupt. But even here the folklores of the south if collected completely will throw some light on Karnatak history. Moreover, much history can be culled out from the epics and from other purāṇas. Kalhana's *Rājatarangini* though of the 12th century gives the detailed history of the north for many centuries past. It has got occasional references to the south also. So also the Buddhistic works, such as the Jātakas, Deepavamṣa and Mahāvamṣa contain many references to the south. I must admit that all these books contain more material for the history of Northern India than for the South. The material actually available under this head for the reconstruction in outline of Karnatak history is very slight.

Writings of foreign travellers.—If the North has got Fa-Hien, Huen-Tsang, Songyun, Ukong, Alburini, etc., the South also has got Fa-Hain, Huen-Tsang, Alburini, Ibn-batuta, Marco Polo, Nuniz, Duart Barbosa, Paes, and others. So from all these sources the history about the Karnatak can be extracted. There was connection between the west of India and Egypt, Greece, Arabia and Persia. Therefore much information can be gathered indirectly from the histories of these nations. Periplus contains references to the geography of South India. In a Greek drama some Kanarese sentences have been used. Therefore this branch also is not quite barren. No doubt we fail to find sober history until we come to later periods. But this is the case with the North also.

Archaeology.—Coming to archaeology. Karnatak is especially rich in such materials. It is no exaggeration to say that in no other part of India are the materials of this class so very numerous as in Karnatak.

(a) *Monuments*.—Karnatak is studded with huge and beautiful temples all over the country. A traveller who crosses the Vindhya mountains and descends into the present Maharāshtra will be attracted by the sight of temples which are styled in Maharāshtra, Hemadpanti temples. As he advances southwards the number of these temples goes on increasing so much so that the traveller meets with massive and beautiful temples at every turn. Here in this country we find structures ranging from the oldest cave

temples of Nasik and Karle to the most highly finished architecture of the Hoysalan temples of Dwārsamudra and Belur. Gigantic rock cut temples and caves of Badami and Verūle (Ellōra) belong to the dynasties of Karnatak. The beautiful Chaityalayas of Karle and Kanheri were cut during the period of these Karnatak kings. The grand ruins of Hampi or Vijayanagar must evoke admiration from every person who has the least taste for the past. Here the archæologist finds very peculiar temples which tell their own tale. Take for instance the old and unostentatious temple of Yantroddhara in Hampi, God Hanuman of which is fixed in a Yantra, i.e., in a circle of mystic letters. Is this not a special subject for an archæologist to study? Again, take the temple of Tārakēswar in Hangal with its thousand petals turned upside down beautifully carved in stone. Is it not an object worth seeing? If you go to Lakkundi, Aihole and other places, you see curious temples dedicated to Nagas, Surya and other deities. The temples of Patadakal, Hampi, throw a good deal of light on mythology wherein you read Ramayana and Mahabharata at a glance, the chief incidents of those epics being exquisitely carved in stones. Last but not the least are the temples of Halebid and Belur* which have attracted scholars and architects from the different parts of the world. Ajanta caves are already familiar to western scholars and are famous for their paintings. There is a curious temple in Sringeri which gives architects and historians a good deal of food for thinking. So, looked at from all these points we come to the conclusion that in richness, in variety, beauty, art and architecture the temples of this part of India can rival those in any other part of the world. In short I may say that new light will be thrown by them on many branches of human activities, such as religion, mythology, architecture, drawing, painting, iconography, etc.

(b) *Epigraphy*.—As to epigraphic evidence Karnatak is exceptionally fortunate. In no other part of India are the inscriptions so very numerous as in Karnatak. Almost every village contains an inscription. Some villages like Belāgāvi, Lakkundi, Bankipur, Annigeri, Hampi, etc., contain more than thirty or forty inscriptions each. But all this treasure lies hidden from the eyes of Western scholars and they sigh for want of materials. The labours of Dr. Fleet, Mr. Elliot and a few others have revealed some of these inscriptions but those that are not yet deciphered far exceed those that have been deciphered. Fortunately the Mysore Government which is a Kanarese Government has created a special department for Archæology and has published 5,800 or more inscriptions great and small. But we must remember that Mysore was not

* NOTE.—In the frontispiece is reproduced a view from this temple, by kind courtesy of Mr. R. Narasimhachar, Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore.

olden times a separate country but formed part of the Karnatak proper. Moreover, it was simply an outlying dependency, all the capital towns of the big dynasties being in Northern Karnatak. Hence the inscriptions that may be found in this part of the country are likely to be more numerous and will certainly be of greater importance than those found elsewhere. Many inscriptions have already perished and others will share the same fate if patriotic efforts are not made in time in this direction. Individuals or private associations cannot cope with this difficulty without the help of Governments. But unfortunately Karnatak is split up into four or five parts, each part occupying a neglected corner in each of the Governments of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad, etc. One will have an idea of the vastness of the material when I say that the great king Vikramaditya VI of Kalyan has alone left more than 250 inscriptions, only a very few of which have been read completely. What an amount of history can be gleaned from such a large store?

(c) *Numismatic*.—In this branch also Karnatak does not fall behind other parts. The Museum at Bangalore contains a large number of coins. Rapson and others have given a history of some of them. The number of treasure-trove cases which are being launched every year will give an idea of the material of this sort from which we can derive help for history.

Besides this, excavation in places like Hampi, Bankipur, Lakkundi, Hubli, Aihole, etc., may further reward the enterprise of an explorer to a great extent.

Contemporary or nearly contemporary literature.—In this too, Karnatak is not poor. If the North has got its Rajatarangini the South has got its Rajāvalikathe. If the North has got its Harshacharita, the Karnatak has got its Vikramārkadēvacharita which purports to give the history of Vikramaditya VI of Kalyan. Moreover the whole of the old Kanarese literature stands at the service of the historians in this respect, who must be only too glad to read and cull out history from it. Only two languages in India, viz., Tamil and Kanarese have got such vast ancient literature.

So far then I have dealt with the sources of history and have shown that much material already exists for the compilation of a history of Karnatak. But my hopes are more on the future. For, further research will certainly bring to light innumerable and invaluable material of the highest scientific value.

Importance of Karnatak history.—Now let me meet the second objection of Mr. Vincent Smith. I quote again his words "But the details are mainly of local interest and cannot attract the attention of the outer world to the same degree as can the history of the Northern empire constantly in touch with the world." It is not strange that foreign historians of India

like Mr. Vincent Smith, Rapson and others should deal exhaustively with that portion of the history of India which has touch with the outer world. The connection of Maurya kings with Greeks, the invasion of India by Çakas, Huns, etc., India's relation with Syria and Egypt and what they style Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian dynasties occupy the greater portion of the so-called history of India. The indigenous history is treated comparatively in a very few pages. No doubt the south was comparatively free from foreign invaders. But this does not lessen the importance of the Karnatak history. The South may not have been in touch with the outer world. What of that? Has not Karnatak got equally important kingdoms, equally glorious literature and an equally advanced civilisation and hence, does it not deserve the study of every historian? On the other hand I say that because this part of the country was for many centuries shut out from the outer world it has retained much of the old type of civilisation peculiar to India, while the North, too early subjected to the raids of foreigners and too soon coming in contact with the foreign customs and manners, has lost much of the true type of Hindu religion and civilisation. Foreigners poured down into India from the north-west and changed the northern part to a great extent. On the contrary, Karnatak still retains its pristine purity. The North prostrated at the feet of foreigners on the death of Harshavardhana, but the South held out for many more centuries. Hence it is that caste system, village communities and other institutions of Hindu civilisation are to be found in the South in their unmixed forms where you can easily study their origin and philosophy.

Take for instance religion which forms the chief part of Hindu life and civilisation. The land of the Vedas, the land of the Upanishads and Puranas received a rude shock at the hands of Buddhism and Jainism and lost much of its original nature. On the other hand, Buddhism and Jainism themselves did not survive the onslaught of later Vedantism. So there you find neither the old Aryan religion nor Buddhism and Jainism in their full growth at present. The case is different in the South. When the great kingdoms of the North fell one by one before the invasions of Mussalmans, the South became the bulwark of Hinduism for many centuries. It was because of this that it produced the great religious philosophers like Çankara, Rāmānuja and Mādhwa of the three great schools of Vēdānta philosophy, viz., Adwaita, Vishishtadwaita and Dwaita. Even Buddhism travelled to the South. Buddhism lingered there till the 12th century and as to Jainism it received there a new impetus and prospered vigorously for many centuries giving a new turn to the life of the people producing immortal Sanskrit and Kanarese literature and building massive temples. The Veerashaiva cult was revived

in its new form and to this day the sect of Lingayats occupy a prominent place in the history of Karnataka. Their religion can be studied only through Kanarese literature. Çankara, Rāmānuja, Mādhwa, Ajitasena, Gunanandi, Vidyāranya, Jayatirthacharya and other great scholars and propounders of religion along with Basawa belong to Karnatak. So in point of religion the history of Karnatak will be of special importance to the students of history than any other part of India.

Next take politics. Here in the South after the middle of the 5th century great kingdoms rose into prominence, and from the 5th century to the end of the 16th it was Karnatak and Karnatak alone that ruled as suzerain power over the greater portion of the vast peninsula. Naturally in every country the period of supremacy of the political power generally coincides with supremacy in all other branches. So was the case with Karnatak. During the suzerainty of kings like Nripatunga of the Rāshtrakutas, Vikramaditya of Kalyan, Harihara and Krishnadēvarāya of Vijayanagar, Karnatak produced an array of scholars of whom not only Karnatak but the whole world may be justly proud. The names of Vijnānēswara, Bilhana, Bhaskaracharya, Mallinātha foremost of Sanskrit scholars and the names of Ādipampa, Ponna, Ranna, Kumārvyāsa, Laxmeesha and Shadākshari, immortals among Kannada authors, do honour to any country.

I have shown thus that the history of Karnatak is an important portion of the history of India, and from the 5th century to the 16th, history of Hindu India means mainly the history of the Karnatak. All great indigenous rulers, religious preachers, statesmen and scholars lived and prospered in Karnatak. It has up to this day preserved intact the peculiar traces of Hindu civilisation. Its customs and manners are not vitiated like those of the North by the intermixture of non-Indian manners and customs. Even after the advent of the Muhammadans, the history of Karnatak preserves its interest as Muhammadan rulers, such as the Bahamini, Bijapur and the Golkonda kings were great rulers and were lovers of art and literature. Hence the History of India without the history of Karnatak is quite incomplete and imperfect. This is the reason why I call upon my countrymen especially Karnatakas to devote their attention and energy to the study of the history of the Karnatak and lift up the curtain of mystery that now thickly hangs over the greater part of its incidents.

The necessity of an All-India Historical Association.—I cannot part with the subject without bringing to the notice of scholars the necessity of an All-India Historical Association. The history of Karnatak—why, as a matter of fact, the history of India—cannot be properly worked out unless we have got such an association wherein scholars from all parts of the country

come together and discuss the various problems in all their aspects. The history of one part of the country is inextricably united with that of the other parts, and we cannot write a satisfactory history of one without a knowledge of that of the others. Take for instance the Maratha country. Certainly the early history of the country lying between the Narmada and the Krishna requires a knowledge of Karnatak history. Therefore Maratha historians are perforce required to study the history, language and literature of the Karnatak. The history of the dynasties that ruled over Maharashtra for about sixteen centuries is to be traced with the help of Kanarese inscriptions, copper plates, literature, temples, etc. So also is the case with the Karnatak. This country was ruled over by the Marathas and the Peshwas from the beginning of the 17th century. I shall show how we are likely to commit blunders if we do not study more systematically and more scientifically. An enthusiastic member of the Bharata Itihasa Mandala, Poona, had gone to the south for research work, and found fortunately the tomb of Shahaji in the village Hodigere. He inquired into its history and gave a detailed account of it to the Maratha people. But some serious mistakes have crept therein owing to his ignorance of the Kanarese language. A member of our own society, Mr. Rajapurohit, had been to the same village for research and found out the mistakes that had been committed by Mr. Patwardhan in his accounts. Mr. Patwardhan read a certain word as Kudurelāya, and thinking that the word was the Sanskrit Laya created a story of his own over that phrase. The word Lāya in Kanarese means a stable for horses, which gives an opposite colour to the whole story. A mistake was quite natural on his part. I could fix the boundary in the south-east of the old Karnatak country from a reference to the Tamil book called Kuruntokai. The life of Chaitanya by Mr. Jadunath Sirkar gave me some new incidents in the life of Madhwa. From a Telugu book I could suspect that the mothertongue of the great Krishnaraja of Vijayanagar was Kanarese and not Telugu as is generally supposed. So mutual help will go a good way to facilitate our work and correct our mistakes. If an All-India association is formed with a central library of reference and an information bureau attached to it and if scholars from different parts study the history of their own tracts and report their results, a mass of materials will be collected from which a synthetic and authentic history of India can very well be afterwards compiled.

In conclusion, I may quote the warning given by Mr. Vincent Smith in his history: "Attention has been concentrated too long on the North, on Sanskrit books, and on Indo-Aryan notions. It is time that due regard should be paid to the non-Aryan element," in the hope that it will not be left unheeded any longer.

KAUTILYA AND KALIDASA.

BY H. A. SHAH, ESQ., B.A. (BOMBAY).

(Continued from Vol. X, No. 4, p. 317)

II.

The important matter about 'Purohita' (the high priest) was not treated elaborately in the first article. It will now be taken up before other illustrations are brought to notice. Texts consulted and the abbreviations used (Vol. X, 4, page 303) remain unchanged. Where it is otherwise, it is duly stated.

PUROHITA :

In the portion between the verses third and twelfth of the fifth act of Śākuntala, the Chamberlain is found communing with himself. He deems it his duty ("पर्मकार्यमनतिपालं देवस्य"), although the hour of business* is over, to inform the king of the arrival of a party of ascetics with women, seeking audience with him. The king on getting the information, immediately orders him to call upon the teacher 'Somarāta' to receive the party and to show them the way to the hall where audience could be granted them. He himself directly goes there ("अहम्ब्यत्र तपस्त्वदर्शनोचिते प्रदेशेस्थितः प्रतिपालयामि") and waits for them. The hall mentioned is the one where the sacred fire is burning ("वैत्रवति, अग्निशरणमार्गमादेशवै" and "संनिहितहोमधेनुरभिशरणालिन्दः । आरोहतु देवः" ||). Following is the rule of the Arthaśāstra on it :—

Pages 39 (44) : "Having seated himself in the room where the sacred fire has been kept, he shall attend to the business of physicians and ascetics practising austerities; and that in company with his high priest and teacher after preliminary salutation to the petitioners."†

For the final part of the instruction in it ("प्रत्युत्थायाभिवाद च") we read in Śākuntala (before V. 12) : "भो भोस्तपस्त्विनः, असावत्रभवान्वर्णश्रामाणां रक्षिता प्रागेव मुक्तासनो वः प्रतिपालयति । पश्यतैनम् । क्रपयः-....." "विजयस्व राजन्" । राजा—"सर्वानभिवादये" ||

The general rule in the case of ascetics is :—

Pages 39 (44) : "Accompanied by persons proficient in the three sciences (trividyā) but not alone lest the petitioners be offended, he

*Time-table of the king is consulted later on.

† "अग्न्यगारगतः कार्यं पश्यद्वैष्टपस्त्विनाम् ।

पुरोहिताचार्यसखः प्रत्युत्थायाभिवाद च" ||

shall look to the business of those who are practising austerities, as well as of those who are experts in witchcraft and Yoga.”*

The wisdom of this injunction is fully borne out by the unpleasant development the interview takes. It is Purohita who timely intervenes, stops it from growing worse, and renders a distinct service by suggesting a middle and a just course.

“ पुरोहितः—(विचार्य) ‘यदितावदेवं कियताम्’ । राजा—‘अनुशास्तु मां भवान्’ ।

पुरोहितः—‘अब्रभवती तावदाप्रसवादस्मदग्ने तिष्ठतु । कृत इदमुच्यत इति चेत्...and so on.

राजा—‘यथा गुरुन्मो रोचते’” ॥

The act closes thus : “ राजा—‘भगवन्... ...विश्वाम्यतु भवान्’ । पुरोहितः—(विलोक्य) ‘विजयत्व’ । (इति निष्कान्तः)” ॥

The whole act and particularly this part of conversation well reveals to us the duties and high position of Purohita in the days of Kālidāsa.

Śukra, IV. 5.21. has one verse only, “ तपस्विनां तु कार्याणि ” which is, in fact, the one of the Arthaśāstra quoted at the foot of this page.

Kāmandaka says much less :

“ ब्रव्यां च दण्डनीत्यां च कुशलः स्यात्पुरोहितः ।

अथवंविहितं नित्यं कुर्याच्छान्तिकं पौष्टिकम्” ॥ IV, 7, 31.

Both Kāmandaka and Śukra fall far short of what Kauṭilya or Kālidāsa writes.

In Śukra. II, Purohita is thus described :

“ समासतः पुरोधादिलक्षणं यत्तदुच्यते । पुरोधाश्च प्रतिनिधिः प्रधानः सचिवम्तथा ॥६९॥

पुरोधाः प्रधमं अेषुः सर्वेभ्यो राजवाहनमृद । तदनु स्यात्प्रतिनिधिः प्रधानसत्तदनन्तरम् ॥७४॥

मन्त्रानुष्ठानसम्पन्नस्त्रैविदः कर्मतप्तपः । जितेन्द्रियो जितकोधो लोभमोहविविजितः ॥ ७८ ॥

पद्धवित्साङ्गभनुवेदविद्वाभैर्भर्मविद् । यत्कोपभीत्या राजाऽपि भर्मनीतिरतो भवेत् ॥ ७९ ॥

नन्तिशास्कालम्बूहादिकशलस्तु पुरोहितः । सैवाचार्यः पुरोधा यः शापानुग्रहयोः क्षमः” ॥८०॥

If a comparison of thoughts and wording of all the above verses is made with the bold sketch of purohita in the Arthaśāstra [pp. 15-16 (17)] and with that in Raghuvampā (I,59 ff.), it will be discovered that they, taken severally and conjointly, are all flat, disjointed and halting in delineation. This difference is due to the fact that in Śukranīti, it is by way of simple enumeration of the code of laws under various headings ; while with Kauṭilya, it is an effort after *evolving* out a system of perfect and powerful government, the elements of which (king, minister, purohita, subjects, etc.) are made to accord and to act and react upon one another for the welfare of the State.

* “ तपस्विनां तु कार्याणि त्रैविचैस्तस ह कारयेत् ।

मायायोगविदां चैव न स्वयं कोपकारणात् ” ॥

Kālidāsa betrays the same way of emphasising and arranging the system (in which the principal element is the king). He sings the benefits the king *and* his state receive from purohita who is a guide and a master; and that all, *through the king*. The expressions in Raghuvampā are brief, vigorous, and swift in their characterizations. These are the very qualities Kautilya exhibits in his Arthaśāstra.

Let us now consult the Arthaśāstra to obtain a full glimpse of purohita :—

Pages 15-16 (17) : “Him whose family and character are highly spoken of, who is well educated in the Vedas and the six Angas, is skilful in reading portents providential or accidental, is well-versed in the science of government, and who is obedient and who can prevent calamities providential or human by performing such expiatory rites as are prescribed in the Atharvaveda, the king shall employ as high priest.”*

“As a student his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master, the king shall follow him.”†

“That Kshatriya breed which is brought up by Brāhmans, is charmed with the counsels of good councillors, and which faithfully follows the precepts of the śāstras becomes invincible and attains success though unaided with weapons.”‡

For the idea contained in the foregoing lines of the last paragraph, confer Raghuvampā :—

“तव मन्त्रकृतो मन्त्रैर्दूरात्प्रशमितारिभिः ।

प्रत्यादिश्यन्त इव मे दृष्टलक्ष्यभिदः शरा:” || I, 61.

“एवमुच्यन्त्रभावेण शास्त्रनिर्दिष्टवर्तमना ।

वृषेव देवो देवानां राजां राजा बभूव सः” || XVII, 77.

“स बभूव दुरासदः परंगुरुणाथर्वविदा कृतक्रियः” || VIII, 4,

* “पुरोहितमुदितोदितकुलशीलं पङ्के वेदे दैवे निमित्ते दण्डनीलां च अभिविनीतमापदां दैवमानुषीणां अर्थर्वभिरुपायैश्च प्रतिकर्तारं कुर्वीत” || The priest must know “Dandanīti” very well. Its definition and scope [Pages 9(9)] are as follows :—

“आन्वीक्षकीत्रयीवार्तानां योगक्षेमसाधनो दण्डः । तस्य नीतिर्दण्डनीतिः, अलब्धलाभार्थी, लब्धपरि-रक्षणी, रक्षितविवर्धनी, शृदस्य तीर्थेषु प्रतिपादनी च” || For definitions of ‘आन्वीक्षकी’, ‘त्रयी’, and ‘वार्ता’ see pages 6-7 (6-7).

† “तमाचार्यं शिष्यः, पितरं पुत्रो, भूतस्त्वामिनमिव चानुवर्तेत” ||

‡ “त्राक्षणैनथितं क्षत्रं मन्त्रिमन्त्राभिमन्त्रितम् ।

जयत्यजितमत्यन्तं शास्त्रानुगमशक्तितम्” ||

Comment on the *affinity* in thoughts and arrangement is superfluous.

गा.ध.सूत्र, II, 2, 14. says,—“ ब्रह्मप्रसुतं हि क्षत्रमुद्धते न व्यव्यत इति च विश्वायते ”॥
The contrast presented by its insufficiency needs no elaboration.

Let us again take up Raghuvamśa :—

“ अथाथर्वनिधेस्तस्य विजितारिपुरः पुरः ।

अर्थामर्थपतिवर्णमाददे वदतां वरः ॥ I, 59.

(Some remarks on minor points of this verse will not be out of place):—

(A) “Well versed in the Atharva lore”: Much stress has been laid upon this condition because, it is in this Veda that various incantations and rites are given.

(B) For the connotation of the term ‘ अर्थपति ’, confer Arthaśāstra, pages 426 (515), in the chapter on the ‘ Tantrayukti,’ “ मनुष्याणां वृत्तिरथेः, मनुष्यवती भूमिरित्यर्थः ” ; “ The Lord of such an “ Artha ” is ‘ Arthapati ’ :

Moreover “ उपपत्रं ननु शिवं सप्तस्वङ्गेषु यस्य मे ।

दैवीनां मानुषीणां च प्रतिहर्ता त्वमापदाम् ॥ I, 60.

For the “ seven limbs of state ” and their distress referred to in this verse, cf. Artha., pages 322 (391) : “ १ २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ स्वाम्यमाल्यजनपददुर्गकोशदण्डमित्रव्यसनानां पूर्वपूर्वं गरीय इत्याचार्याः ” ॥ Kauṭilya accepts this dictum of Ācharyas as against the view of other politicians with the emphasis of his own that it is the king who is the fountain head of the whole state and not the minister as Bhāradvāja would have it. The difference in the respective arrangements of the two Śāstrakāras—Kauṭilya and Bhāradvāja—has been well reflected in their discussion on a king in distress when, according to the latter, his minister is supposed to avail of the opportunity then presented to usurp kingship for himself ; [cf. Artha., pages 255 (316-317).] Here Kauṭilya strongly deprecates that course and proposes that his minister should place on the throne even a pregnant queen, if no heir to the throne be living, rather than usurp it for himself. Adoption of this course is related in Raghuvamśa XIX. 55, when king Agnimitra dies without any successor as pointed out in our first article (page 315, ff.).

The general outlines of the character of the high priest having been noted, let us now get a peep into his duties with regard to the calamities, providential or human, referred to by Kauṭilya and Kālidāsa.

The nature and origin of the calamities are as follows :—

Artha., pages 321 (391) : “ National calamities, coming from Providence

or from man happen from one’s ‘ misfortune ’ or ‘ bad policy ’

•The word “ Vyasaṇa ” (vices or calamities), means the reverse or absence

of virtue, the preponderance of vices, and occasional troubles. That which deprives ('vyasyati') a person of his happiness is termed 'Vyasana' (vices or calamities) *

Pages 260 (322) : "Deterioration, stagnation, and progress are the three aspects of position."....."Those causes of human make which affect position are policy and impolicy ('Naya' and 'Apanaya'); fortune and misfortune ('Aya' and 'Anaya') are providential causes.†

Causes, both human and providential, govern the world and its affairs."

... "What is unforeseen is providential; here, the attainment of that desired end which seemed almost lost is (termed) fortune."

... "What is anticipated is human; and the attainment of a desired end as anticipated is (due to policy)."‡

"What produces unfavourable results is impolicy. This can be foreseen; but misfortune due to providence cannot be known."§

So far, we get an insight into the form and sources of calamities as Kauṭilya understands them. The high priest is competent enough to avert them. cf. "दैवे निमित्तं इण्डनीयां (cf. the definition of Dandanīti also) च अभिविनो-तमापदं दैवमानुषीयां" || He can protect both from "misfortune" and "bad policy."

Let us read the details of providential calamities:

Pages 331 (401): "Providential calamities are fire, floods, pestilence, famine and (the epidemic disease called) "maraka."§

Pages 207 (261) : "There are eight kinds of providential visitations:

They are fire, floods, pestilential diseases, famine, rats, tigers, ('vyālah'), serpents, and demons. From these shall the king protect his kingdom."||

Kauṭilya is a staunch believer in human efforts; but when they fail, divine aid is sought after. Accordingly, let us see the means he proposes to meet with the calamities when they come down upon the State.

* "दैवं मानुषं वा प्रकृतिव्यसनमनयापनयाभ्यां संभवति ।

गुणप्रातिलोभ्यमभावः प्रदोषः प्रसङ्गोऽवा वा व्यसनं "व्यस्यत्वेन श्रवेणः" इति व्यसनम्" ||

† "क्षयस्थानं वृद्धिरित्युदयाः । ... तत्वं मानुषं नयापनयौ दैवमयानयौ" ||

‡ "दैवमानुषं हि कर्म लोकं पावति । ... अदृष्टकारितं दैवं, तस्मिन्नज्ञेन फलेन योगोऽयः । ... दृष्टकारितं मानुषं, तस्मिन्योगक्षेमनिष्ठत्वायः" ||

§ "विपत्तिरनयः । तच्चिन्त्यम् । आचिन्त्यं दैवमिति" ||

\$ "दैवपोऽनमग्निरुदकं व्याधिर्दुर्भिक्षं मरक इति" ||

|| "दैवान्यष्टौ महाभयानि—अग्निरुदकं व्याधिर्दुर्भिक्षं मूर्चिका व्यालास्सर्पं रक्षांसीति । तेभ्यो जनपदं रक्षेत्" ||

Pages 362-3 (436) : "Such providential visitations as fire, floods, disease, pestilence ('pramara'), fever ('vidrava'), famine and demoniac troubles are dangerous....." "Success in averting these is to be sought by worshipping Gods and Brāhmans."¹ "Whether demoniacal troubles are absent, or are too many, or normal, the rites prescribed in the Atharvaveda as well as the rites undertaken by accomplished ascetics are to be performed for success."²

Pages 210 (264) : "Persons acquainted with the rituals of the Atharvaveda, and experts in sacred magic and mysticism shall perform such ceremonials as ward off the danger from demons."..... "Such ascetics as are experts in magical arts, and being endowed with supernatural powers, can ward off providential visitations, shall, therefore, be honoured by the king and made to live in his kingdom."³

Pages 209-10 (263) : "With a view to destroy rats,.....ascetics and prophets may perform auspicious ceremonials."⁴ "When there is a fear from snakes,.....those who are learned in the Atharvaveda may perform auspicious rites."⁵

Pages 208 (262) : "Experts in sacred magic and mysticism, and persons learned in the Vedas shall perform incantations against rain."⁶

Pages 208 (262) : "Such remedial measures (such as are treated of in the 14th book giving secret means) shall be taken against pestilences. Physicians with their medicines, and ascetics and prophets with their auspicious and purificatory ceremonials shall also overcome pestilences."⁷

1 "दैवादभिरुदकं व्याधिः प्रमारो विद्रवो दुर्भिक्षमासुरी सुषिः इत्यापदः । तासां दैवतमाद्वाणप्रणिपात्ततः सिद्धिः" ॥

2 "असूष्टिरातिसूष्टिवौ याऽसुरी भवेत् । तस्यामाधर्वणं कर्म सिद्धारम्भात्थ सिद्धयः" ॥

3 "रक्षोभये रक्षोग्नान्यथवेदविदो मायायोगविदो वा कर्माणि कुर्यात्" ॥

"मायायोगविदस्तस्माद्विषये सिद्धतापसाः ।

वसेतुः पूजिता राहा दैवापत्प्रतिकारिणः" ॥

4 "मूषिकभये ... शान्तिं वा सिद्धतापसाः कुर्यात्" ॥

5 "सर्पभये ... मन्त्रैः ... अथर्ववेदविदो वाऽभिमिचरेत्" ॥

6 "मायायोगविदो वेदविदो वर्षमभिमिचरेत्" ॥

7 "व्याधिभयमौपनिषदिकैः प्रतीकारैः प्रतिकुर्यात् । ओषधैश्चिकित्सकाः शान्तिप्रायश्चित्तैर्वा सिद्धतापसाः" ॥

The same remedial measures shall be taken against epidemics ('maraka' = killer).^{*}

Cf. Raghu., I. 60, 62-63. दैवीनां मानुषीणां च प्रतिहर्ता त्वमापदाम् ॥

“ हविरार्बंजितं होतस्त्वया विधिवदग्निषु ।

वृष्टिर्भवति सस्त्वयानामवश्राविशेषिणाम् ॥

“ पुरुषायुधजीविन्यो निरातङ्गा निरीतयः ।

यन्मदीयाः प्रजास्तस्य हेतुस्त्वद्वक्षवर्चसम् ॥

The praises king Dilipa pours out from his heart are just and true if we consider what powerful factor Kauṭilya has made of the high priest, already powerful by his deep knowledge of arts and sciences. The cumulative effect of the protection he renders is told in these glowing terms :—

“ त्वयैवं चिन्त्यमानस्य गुरुणा ब्रह्मयोनिना ।

सानुवन्थाः कर्म न स्युः संपदो मे निरापदः ॥ I, 64.

It was all well with his state ; but the king had no progeny and for that reason, he went to the sage to obtain a boon from him.

“ संतानार्थाय विधये स्वभुजादवतारिता ।

तेन घूर्जगतो गुर्वां and,

अथाभ्यर्थ्य विधातारं प्रयतौ पुत्रकाभ्यद्या ।

तौ दंपती वसिष्ठस्य गुरुर्जग्मतुराश्रमम् ॥ I, 34-5.

What is the use of boundless prosperity when there is none in the family to continue it ?

“ किन्तु वर्धां तवैतस्यामदृष्टसङ्ख्यप्रजम् ॥ I, 65 and

“ तया (i.e., संतत्या) होनं विधातमां कर्थं पश्यन्त दूयसे ॥ I, 70.

“ असश्चपीडं भगवन्नृणमन्त्यमवेहि मे ॥ I, 71.

“ तस्मान्मुच्चे यथा तात संविधातुं तथाऽर्हसि ।

इक्ष्वाकूणां दुरापेऽर्थे त्वदधीना हि सिद्धयः ॥ I, 72.

The Arthaśāstra says on pages 33 (38), “ Hence when the queen attains the age favourable for procreation, priests shall offer to Indra and Bṛhaspati the requisite oblations.”† Dilipa has followed the proper course.

We saw all that was given by the Arthaśāstra, Śākuntala and Raghu-vamśa. Let us see what more the गौ.ध.सूत्र says over and above what it states in II. 2, 14 (“ ब्रह्मप्रसृतं हि क्षत्रं ” etc., quoted above)

गौ.ध.सूत्र II. 2, “ ब्राह्मणं च पुरो दधीत । विद्याभिजनवान्पूर्ववदशीलसंपदं न्यायवृत्तं तपस्त्विनम् ॥ १२ ॥ तत्प्रसृतः कर्माणि कुर्वीत ” ॥ १३ ॥ (But duties to the State remain unspecified.)

* “ तेन मरको व्याख्यातः ॥ ”

† “ तस्माद्वृत्तमत्यां महिष्यां क्रत्विजक्षरमैन्द्रावार्हस्यतं निर्विपेतुः ॥ ”

Further—“ यानि च दैवोत्पातचिन्तकाः प्रभुयुस्तान्याद्रियेत ॥१५॥ तदधीनमपि हेके योगक्षेमं प्रतिजानते ॥१६॥ [‘एके’, because ‘others’ hold out for ‘पुरुषकार’]. शान्तिपुण्याहस्त्वस्त्वय-नायुध्यमङ्गलसंयुक्तान्याभ्युदायिकानि विदेषणसंबन्नाभिचाराद्विष्टद्व्युद्युक्तानि च शालाम्भो कुर्वात्” ॥१७॥

This is said of the class to which the Purohita belongs and in which he is a prominent personage, he being nearest the king.

With Kautilya, the necessities of State (“ दण्डनीतिं च अभिविनीतम् ”) are paramount. The effects of the Purohita’s immense power have been gratefully recited by king Dilipa (“ उपर्णं ननु शिवं सप्तस्वरूपे यस्य मे ” and “ यन्मदीयाः प्रजासत्त्वं हेतुस्त्वद्व्यवर्चसम् ” ॥ etc.) This side of the Purohita is wanting in the गौ.ध.सूत्र.

In Śukra., he serves the purpose of a check and as it were, of a dead-weight upon the king! In the Arthaśāstra, we get a refreshing contrast to the above. (Cf. “ तमाचार्यं शिष्यः, पितरं पुत्रः etc.). He is more a guide, a help-mate and a pillar of strength than a source of fear.

With Bāṇa (Kādambari, page 316), he is a nuisance and a positive evil, since he finds him lost in the habit of employing crooked means of murdering (by incantations) undesirable persons. It would appear that no better aspect of his had persisted to allow of a better judgment.

In the ‘सुभाषितरङ्गभाण्डागार’, he is seen to be an uninteresting figure of a Brahmin moving about in ordinary walks of daily life.*

The fulness of the worth of the Purohita is found only in the Arthaśāstra, in Śākuntala and in Raghuvamśa, consistently and freely sketched out in a few bold outlines. Out of so many lines of delineation, one or the other may be traced to some other source; and it may even be found running identical with some passages of literature; but rarely it will be found to lie *all together in one place arranged in an identical manner*. It is for this reason that we preferred to say in our first article (page 304) that ‘both the authors Kautilya and Kālidāsa are connected in a way they are connected *with none else*’. With this repetition of arguments and this remark on the discussion under the heading ‘purohita’, this section comes to a close.

Now we take up other illustrations. They cannot be exhausted at one time in one or two articles because they are many. We had selected a few—plain and striking ones—to herald the advent of the rest and better to show to what conclusions they *all in a body* lead to. In citing passages, we institute a comparison or a contrast; because we thereby better realize the identity and the *limits* of non-identity. Consideration of the date of the

* “ वेदवेदाङ्गतस्वरूपो जपहोमपरायणः । आशीर्वादपरो नित्यमेष राजपुरोहितः ” ॥ III. 18.

works consulted is, therefore, quite immaterial. (Indeed, works of a decidedly earlier date than that of Chandragupta Maurya will help us much in arriving at a *final* decision which, we repeat, is yet to be made.)

We will now consider the *Time-table* of the king :—

In the beginning of the second act of *Vikramorvaśiya*, the jester mutters to himself thus :—"I will wait here till my friend, the king, leaves his court (" यावत् तत्रभवान्वयस्य कार्यासनादुत्थिति तावत् स्थास्यामि "). Soon after, a bard announces in his song that the king is then free to act as he pleases, it being the sixth portion (of the time-table):—"एषेभागे त्वमपि दिवसस्यात्मनश्छन्दवर्ती " : II, 1). The jester catches the song and notices that his friend is coming in that direction (*where* he is sitting), he having finished his business at the court (" एष कार्यासनादुत्थित इत एवागच्छति वयस्यः "). The table, therefore, runs as follows :—

5th portion :—Business to be gone through, while sitting on the 'Kāryāsana.'

6th portion :—Free to move about according to his inclinations.

To explain this table, scholars draw upon what the Daśakumāra lays down on pages 131-132 (B.S.S. 1919). Of Daśakumāra and of the Yājna° giving such tables, the original source is the Arthaśāstra.

An important general dictum is however appended at the end of his table by Kauṭilya, on page 38 (43), that the king, "in conformity to his capacity, may alter the time-table and so attend to his duties." ("आत्मबलानुकूल्येन वा निशाहर्माणन् प्रतिविभज्य कार्याणि सेवेत्"). Hence the actual record we may find anywhere *may* or *may not* completely fall in line with his (indicatory) table he has laid down. However, our primary business here is to see how far the records preserved in the works of Kālidāsa agree with those of Kauṭilya. To cite therefore from the Arthaśāstra :—

Page 37 (42) : " He shall divide both the day and the night into eight Nālikas (1½ hours).....".*

Then follow the eight divisions of day, the end of the eighth one being the end of the day and the time of Sandhyā.

Pages 37-38 (42-43) : " Of these divisions, †

* " नाळिकाभिरहरण्था रात्रिं च विभजेत् "।

† " तत्र पूर्वे दिवसस्याष्टभागे रक्षाविधानमायव्ययौ च श्रुण्यात् । द्वितीये पौरजानपदानां कार्याणिपश्येत् । तृतीये स्नानभोजनं सेवेत् । स्वाध्यायं च कुर्वांत । चतुर्थे हिरण्यप्रतिग्रहमध्यक्षांश्च कुर्वांत । पञ्चमे मन्त्रपरिषदा पत्रसंप्रेषणेन मन्त्रयेत् । चारगुण्डोषनर्यानि च बुद्धयेत् । षष्ठे स्वैरविहारं मन्त्रं वा सेवेत् । सप्तमे हस्त्यश्वरथायुधीयान् पश्येत् । अष्टमे सेनापतिसखो विक्रमं चिन्तयेत् । प्रतिष्ठितेऽहनि सन्ध्यामुपासीत् "॥

during the first $\frac{1}{8}$ th part of the day, he shall post watchman* and attend to accounts of receipts and expenditure ;
 during the second part, he shall look to the affairs of both citizens and country people ;
 during the third, he shall not only bathe and dine, but also study ;
 during the fourth, he shall not only receive revenue in gold (hiranya), but also attend to the appointment of superintendents ;
 during the fifth, he shall correspond in writs with the assembly of his ministers, and receive the secret information gathered by his spies ;
 during the sixth, he may engage himself in his favourite amusements or in self-deliberation ;
 during the seventh, he shall superintend elephants, horses, chariots and infantry, and
 during the eighth part, he shall consider various plans of military operations with his commander-in-chief.

At the close of the day he shall observe the evening prayer (Sandhyā)."

Following are the eight divisions of night, the end of the last of which marks the early hours of the morning :—

Pages 38 (43) :† during the first one-eighth part of the night he shall receive secret emissaries ;
 during the second, he shall attend to bathing, supper and study ;
 during the third, he shall enter the bed-chamber amid the sound of trumpets and enjoy sleep during the fourth and fifth parts ;
 having been awakened by the sound of the trumpets during the sixth part, he shall recall to his mind the injunctions of sciences as well as the day's duties ;
 during the seventh, he shall sit considering administrative measures and send out spies ; and during the eighth division of night he shall receive benedictions from sacrificial priests, teachers, and the high priest, and having seen his physician, chief cook and astrolo-

* Properly, he shall hear what has been done for the safety of the people : रक्षाविधानं (अणुवाक) ॥

† “ प्रथमे रात्रिभागे गृहपुरुषान् पश्येत् । द्वितीये स्नानभोजनं कुर्वीत स्वाध्यायं च ।

तृतीये तूष्णीघोषणं संविष्टः चतुर्थपञ्चमौ शयीत ।

षष्ठे तृष्णीघोषणं प्रतिषुद्धः शास्त्रभितिकर्तव्यतां च चिन्तयेत् ।

सप्तमे मन्त्रमध्यासीत । गृहपुरुषांश्च प्रेषयेत् ।

अष्टमे ऋत्विगाचार्यपुरोहितसखः स्वस्त्रयनानि प्रतिगृहीयात् ।

चिकित्सकमाहानसिकमौदूर्तिकांश्च पश्येत् ।

सवत्सां भेनुं वृषभं च प्रदक्षिणीकृतोपस्थानं गच्छेत् ” ॥

ger, and having saluted both a cow with its calf and a bull by circumambulating round them, he shall get into his court."

It will be clear that the fifth and sixth divisions of the day according to Kauṭilya correspond with the fifth and the sixth divisions of Kālidāsa.

By 'Kāryāsana' (of the fifth portion referred to in the beginning of this section), the second division cannot be taken because bath and dinner follow the court work. (It will be shown later on that the second division relates to duties performed on a Dharmāsana and not on the Kāryāsana; cf. Śāk., after V. 3, "कार्म धर्मकार्यमनतिपालं देवस्य । तथापीदानीमेव धर्मासनादुत्थिताय.....").

No doubt the remarks of the jester at the end of the second act coupled with what is said in the Mālavikā., II. 12, ff., make out that meals follow after mid-day. The respective passages are as follows: Vikram., II., after verse 22nd : "विदूषकः—‘समयः खलु स्नानभोजनं सेवितुम्’।

राजा—(अधैर्मवलोक्य) ‘गतमर्ह दिवसस्य’ ॥

and then, he describes “उण्णालुः शिशिरे.....etc.”

Mālavikā., II, after verse 12th ; “वैतालिकः—‘उपारूढो मध्याहः’ and then its description ;

“विदूषकः—‘अविध अविध । अस्माकं पुनभोजनबेलोपस्थिता’ ।

देवी—‘निर्वर्तयत्वार्थपुत्रो मज्जनविष्म’ ।

विदूषकः—‘भवति, विशेषेण पानभोजनं त्वर्त्य’ ॥

The remark “गतमर्ह दिवसस्य” of Vikrama is *wrong* because at the least it comes after an hour *after* mid-day. The bard (Vikrama., II, 1) announces that the sun takes rest for a moment; similarly the king retires at that hour. The subsequent action of the whole act takes up more than an hour !

No doubt the Indian custom (of to-day, in upcountry) is to take meals at mid-day, and when taken early before mid-day, to take them again in the afternoon. But, as it is said here, it does not agree with the *sixth* division*; the more so because after the eighth one, Sandhyā follows.

* The confusion is greater than it may be believed to be, as is evident from the following conversation : Vikrama., after II, 2,

“राजा—‘अथ केदानीमात्मा विनोदयेयम्’ । विदूषकः—‘महानसं गच्छावः’ ।

राजा—‘किं तत्र?’ ।

If that hour had been reserved for bath and dinner there would be no question of *what* to do and no occasion for an exclamation to the suggestion of the jester for bath and dinner, in the terms “*why there?*” “स्वैरविहार” (=आत्मनश्छन्दवत्ती) may include both bath and meals. But from what the king gives out, we are made to understand that the suggestion the jester makes is very *unusual*.

Hence, there would be very unequal distribution of time between the first five and the last three divisions. The last three cannot complete the hours between mid-day and evening. The season and the longitude of the place may perhaps help us to explain the inconsistency; but at present, they are beyond control. The scene of Mālavikā. is laid in Vidisā and that of Vikrama. is laid at the confluence of Jumna and the Ganges.

The only satisfactory explanations that can be made under the circumstances are inferences. Both Mālvikā. and Vikrama. are early productions of Kālidāsa as compared with Śākuntala and Raghuvamśa which are mature ones. The rules of Arthaśāstra over-whelmingly preponderate in the latter two. Hence, any inconsistency in this respect in the former two works will not count much in the final decision.

The second explanation that suggests itself from the inconsistency of the text, is of an early tampering with it. Voracity of the jester is a commonplace of the stage. Hence, to relieve the strain and for dramatic purposes, these allusions to dinner and the consequent introduction of the time of meals might have crept in the text. The verses of both the dramas describing effects of heat on animal creation apply equally to the effects of mid-day heat and those of after-noon heat: perhaps more to the latter because heat is greater *after* an hour after mid-day than *at* mid-day.

That the time-table in the later works of Kālidāsa is without mistake in harmony with that of the Arthaśāstra will be seen from the following references to Śākuntala, Act VI, after verses 7th and 23rd.

“ राजा—‘ वेत्रवति, महचनादमात्यमार्दपिष्ठुनं जूहि । चिरप्रबोधनान्न संभावितमस्माभिरथ चर्मासन-
मध्यासितुम् । यतप्रलबेक्षितं पौरकार्यमार्येण तृष्णप्रमारोद्य दीयतामिति ’ । and

प्रतिहारि—‘ देव, अमालो विश्वापयति । अर्थजातस्य गणनाबहुलतयैकमेव पौरकार्यमवेक्षितम् ’ ... ” ॥

It is clear that first to precede is the ‘Arthagaṇanā’ to which the ‘Paurakāryam’ follows. It is respectively the first and second portions of the day time of the Arthaśāstra.

To understand the variety and differences that usually creep in the works of *different* authors, it is necessary for us to consider briefly the time-table of the Yājna., (I. 13, 327 ff.), and that in the eighth section of Daśakumāra. (pages 131-132). The Yājna. has preserved much from the Arthaśāstra; but it seems that here is a case where he has missed the meaning and purport of the original while studying or borrowing or while versifying. The verse 327th says :—“ कुरुक्षः समुत्थाय पश्यदायव्यवौ स्वयम् ।

व्यवहारांस्ततो हृष्टा स्नात्वा भुजीत कामतः ॥

Here he follows the Arthaśāstra whose first three divisions of time are embodied in this verse. But "Kṛtaraksha" is *not* in the original. In the verse above, it conveys the sense of 'precautionary measures the king adopts for himself'. It is necessary to do so; but it is here the first division in which this is not the originally prescribed part of business the king goes through. Kauṭilya, in fact, has referred to "रक्षाविधानं" (*i.e.*, posting of watchmen) which relates to the affairs of the whole state and not simply to his personal "Rakshā."

Again the next word "Samuthāya" as it occurs in that verse is very inappropriate and misleading. If the divisions of night are considered, it will be made apparent that the king is found to be out of bed very early in the dark. Dandi has therefore been entirely misled by Yājna, when he depicts 'washing of the face' by the kings at that time. What he says is : "उत्थितेन च राशा क्षालिताक्षालितमुखेन मुष्टिमध्यमुष्टि वाऽन्यन्तराकृत्य कृत्स्नमाशब्द्यजातमहः प्रथमेऽप्तमेभागे श्रोतव्यम्"। But this first division of day time begins at a time when the king has already completed his bath and daily "mangalas" ! He has risen from bed long before.

The above fault proceeds from what is said *in excess of* what the Arthaśāstra lays down. Let us see what happens when something is *omitted* from the original.

The Yājna. has omitted "Swādhyāya" from the third division of day but has retained it in the verse 330th while treating the second division of night. Dandi seems to understand that only once the "Swādhyāya" has been recommended to the king ; for he speaks sarcastically (p.132, "दितीये भोजनान्तरं श्रोत्रिय इव स्वाध्यायमारभते")। Had he known that the condition repeats in the morning, he would have surely transferred his sarcasm to the first case (of day time); and for the second one (of night time), he would have *repeated* it, adding "Punarapi" between "Bhōjanāntaram" and "Shrotriya iva." It may be pointed out that unlike Swādhyāya, Sandhyā has escaped his vituperations!

That Yājna. omits much more will be seen from the verse 328th. He omits appointment of superintendents as a part of business to be attended to in the fourth division of day. Dandi, as before, follows suit unconsciously : (P.132, "मुक्त्वा चतुर्थे हिरण्यप्रतिश्वाय हस्तं प्रसारयन्नेव तिष्ठति"). The conclusion is irresistible that the Yājna. is not after all a complete and faithful copy of the Arthaśāstra ; contingency of writing in verses may have some share in the discrepancies. But for Dandi, we have to believe that he either did not *comprehend* the Arthaśāstra (which is very unlikely) or that he had before him some other unfaithful digest of the Arthaśāstra over and above the text of the Yājna. The latter inference is just possible because he repeats a phrase

of Kauṭilya, which the Yājna. omits in that connection. Dandi repeats, to add force to his sarcasms, "Swastyayanam" (in the eighth division of night) which is given by the Arthaśāstra and by the गौ.श.सूत्र in II., 2, 17, but not by the Yājna., in verses 332nd and 333rd.

This is a case wherefrom we are entitled to say that affinity in thought, language and views, of Kauṭilya and Kālidāsa, cannot be so lightly explained away by proposing sound study or wholesale incorporation on the part of the latter. In the case of the Yājnavalkya and Dandi, the latter two conditions of study and incorporation are present ; at the same time, they are seen to be at a great disadvantage because they are different (persons) from the writer of the original text. And the disadvantages are necessarily greater when one attempts at writing poetry wherein, affinity (consistency in all respects and identity of outlook also) is possible only if the poem proceeds from one and the same individual.

With one more illustration, the discussion on the time-table is wound up.

Following is the message that the Chamberlain bears : (Vikrama., III, before the second verse). "आदिष्टेऽरिम सनियमया काशीराजपुत्रा यावदिदानीमवसितसन्ध्याजाप्यं महाराजं पश्यामि । (परिक्ष्यावलोक्य च) रमणीयः खडु दिवसावसानवृत्तान्तो राजवेदमनि" ॥ Then follows a beautiful description of the evening and of the flutter of aged women of the household, performing manifold "mangalas." As it is given in the Arthaśāstra, the eighth portion of day is at an end, and it is Sandhyā before night begins.

It appears that there were no such use of lamps in those days as we have in vogue to-day ; the king is throughout accompanied with torch lights. Indeed, the Arthaśāstra is seen to have kept nothing by way of business in the nocturnal programme which require lighting of lamps on a large scale to help the sense of vision.

The end of the Act refers to the time of entering the inner apartments (after III. 21).—"समयः खडु ते वासगृहप्रवेशस्य". It is very probably the second portion of night, the first having been taken up by the queen in appeasing her Lord (during this interval, moon rose and went up considerably high in the heavens).

Now we come to the most important section of this treatise, to *State-craft* which is the essence of the Arthaśāstra. It is as much pleasing to refer to the work and system of Kauṭilya as it is to the strong, beautiful and concordant notes of Kālidāsa giving out the very principles, rules, ways and outlook of Kauṭilya. The power of expression of Kauṭilya is in *equal* degree that of Kālidāsa as well. The similarity is too close to be explained away as either adoption or imitation.

• (I).....The case of a weak king :

We read in Raghu., IV. 35 that—

“ अनग्राणूं समुदर्दुस्तातिसन्धुरयादिव ।

आत्मा संरक्षितः सुझैर्वृत्तिमाश्रित्व वैतसीम् ॥

On it, Mallinātha quotes Kauṭilya as follows:—“ अत्र कौटिल्यः—‘ बलीयसाभिषुक्तो दुर्बलः सर्वत्रानुप्रणतो वैतसधर्ममातिषेद्य इति ’ Arthaśāstra, pages 382 (461). “ When a king of poor resources is attacked by a powerful enemy, he should surrender himself together with his sons (v. i or surrender himself in every way) to the enemy and live like a reed (in the midst of a current of water). ”

Mallinātha here refers to the work of Kauṭilya and not to his personal opinion. The rule is either an enunciation of general principle of politics or that, it is in that place the personal view of a politician named Bhāradwāja. The people of Sumha, we are told, saved themselves by adopting the course suggested in this rule.

The idea obtained from the reed and force of current of water is found in another form in the second act of Śākuntala, after the second verse :

“ विदूषकः—‘ भो वयस्य, यदेतसः कुञ्जलीलो विडम्बयति तत्किमात्मनः प्रभावेण, ननु नदीवेगस्य ? ॥

राजा—‘ नदीवेगसतत्र कारणम् ? ॥

In this way one and the same idea may be employed by an author in different contexts for different purposes. It will be easily understood from the following passages of the Arthaśāstra :—

(II).....A weak king under the apprehension of destruction by a powerful and unrelenting enemy may try to secretly injure him in various ways. One of these is given by the Arthaśāstra on page 383 (462) : “ He may set up a scion of the enemy's family or an imprisoned prince to seize the enemy's territory ” : (“ तत्कुलीनावरुद्धाभ्यां वा हारयेत् ”). Now the *same* rule, applied somewhat to a different purpose, holds good in the case of a haughty friend who has grown powerful: cf. Artha., page 320 (388): “ Or the conqueror may employ a scion of the friend's family or an imprisoned prince to seize his lands : (“ तत्कुलीनावरुद्धाभ्यां भूमि वा तस्य हारयेत् ”)

This leads us to princes and to the part they play in politics.

(III).....It will be interesting to see how princes come to be involved in the ruthless game of politics, from the way they are found employed in the several departments of State. Artha. [page 388 (467)] describes the process of creating revolt by mutual dissension in the family of an enemy : “ योऽस्य पुत्रस्समीपे दुर्गे वा प्रतिवसति, तं सत्रिणोपजापयेत्—‘ आत्मसम्पन्नतरस्वं पुत्रः तथाऽप्यन्तहितः तत्किमुपेक्षसे ? विक्रम्य गृहण ; पुरा त्वा सुवराजो विनाशयति ’ इति ॥...तत्कुलीनमवरुद्धं वा हिरण्येन प्रतिलोभ्य ब्रूयात्—‘ अन्तर्वलं प्रलयन्तस्कन्धमन्ते वाऽस्य प्रसृद्धौहि ? इति ’ ॥ In this way, the princes are incited.

Let us see who is made ' Yuvaraja ' what is done with the rest, and how they, if lead to an evil course, become the tools of others.

That the best fitted of the princes got the title of ' Yuvaraja ' while the rest of his brothers were thrown into some or other of the departments of State is described on page 34 (39) : " आत्मसम्पन्नं सैनापते वौवराज्ये वा स्थापयेत् " [for 'आत्मसम्पन्न', confer Raghuvamśa, VIII. 10, "अथ वीक्ष्य रघुः प्रतिष्ठितं प्रकृतिष्वात्मजमात्मवत्त्वा" and cf. Artha., 256 (317)] and further on " वहुपुत्रः प्रलवन्तमन्यविषयं वा प्रेपयेत् ", where [page 35 (40)] "पुण्यकर्मणि निहुक्तः पुरुषमधिष्ठातारं याचेत् । पुरुषाधिष्ठितश्च सविशेषपमादेशमनुतिष्ठेत् । अभिसूपं च कर्मफलमौपनायिकं च लाभं पितृरूपनाययेत् ॥ "

[The intrigue lies in drawing him away from the 'आदेश' of his father] confer with the above, Raghuvamśa XVI., 1-2.

“ अद्यतरे सप्तरघुप्रबीरा ज्येष्ठं पुरोजन्मतया गुणेत्वं ।
चक्रुः कुशं रत्नविशेषपभारं.....and,
ते सेतुवातांगजवन्धमुख्यैरभ्युच्छ्रुता कर्मभिरव्यवन्धयैः ।
अन्योन्येदशप्रविभागसीमां वैलां समुद्रा इव न व्यतीयुः ॥ ”

Now if a prince feels uneasy, the Arthaśāstra advises him to resort to a powerful king. Confer with it what is said on pages 35-6 (40). "Or if he apprehends imprisonment or death, he may seek refuge under a (neighbouring?)* king who is known to be righteous, charitable, truthful, and not given to cunning but also welcomes and respects guests of good character:" " वन्धवधभयाद्वा वस्त्वामन्तो न्यायवृत्तिर्धार्मिकः सत्यवागविसंवादकः प्रतिगृहीता मानविता चाभिपक्षानाम् तमाश्रयेत् ॥ "

Thus too much is put at the disposal of an unripe intellect for discrimination. It should be noted well that it is princes who play an important part in Dandi's tales. He has narrated their adventures and while doing so, he has touched upon this glaring defect of the system . On the other hand, Bāṇa has seen the necessity of building up in a prince foundations of duty and affection as well as character and to all which, the advice of Śukanāsa is a fitting resume. (Such education would hold fast the prince to his father; he would not swerve from his "आदेश").

There is no help to this defect (about princes) in the system of Arthaśāstra because, in the opinion of politicians, no trust can be reposed in princes. Confer page 32 (37):—

“ कर्कटस्सधर्माणो हि जनकभक्षाः राजपुत्राः ॥ ” cf. Raghu., VIII. 2.

* It cannot be a neighbour who is naturally an enemy ; cf. page 260 (322); " तस्य समन्ततो मण्डलीभूता भूम्यन्तरा अप्रिप्रकृतिः ॥ " Hence, the prince has to go a long distance to get an access to a righteous king.

“दुरितैरपि कर्तुमात्मसात्प्रयत्नते नृपसूत्रवो हि यत् ।

तदुपस्थितमग्रहीदजः पितुराजेति न भोगतृष्णया” ॥

[Confer with it what Śukra says in II. 19, 20 ff.]

In the system of Arthaśāstra, the king is the principal and to secure the safety of his person and of his State, the poison of dissension is carried home to princes of an enemy. But Kauṭilya [on page 34 (38)] wisely lays it down that such a method is not to be applied to one's own prince as other systems advocate. However, the law of nature works upon everybody without distinction. By virtue of it, the king has to remain in great suspense; for others might instil such poison in his own family and thus, in the end, lead to his own destruction and to dissolution of his State. One has (there is no avoiding of it) to fear of the evil means one would employ for others. Much too, Kauṭilya. It is forgotten that in the fold of society all kings and states are a homogeneous body and are therefore *one*, being imperceptibly connected with one another. Good breeding is solely the province (and constructive form of duty) of Dharmashāstras; and where it fails or is found imperfect, Arthaśāstra cannot repair the damage. It can (in its destructive capacity) take an advantage (selfish it is, no doubt) of it! and thus while doing so, it can commit a mistake which in the end may lead to greater disruption of society and of the State.

All the passages on the above matter quoted from the Arthaśāstra and from Raghuvarṇa show the inner coherence between them, bringing into prominence the conclusion that one and the same mind flashes out through all these different forms.

It was told before that to bend like a reed was the general form of policy or that it was a personal view of Bhāradwāja. The former interpretation is probable because Kauṭilya as a rule begins with the innunciation of *commonly* believed precepts of the (previous) Arthaśāstras (confer chapter I, on “विद्यासमुद्देश ”) before he enters into a discussion on them with other schools or politicians.

(IV).....The ruling of Kauṭilya (as expressed by इति कौटिल्यः) is that the weak king should better resort to some other powerful person (or a powerful place) to ensure his own safety from destruction and to ensure his future regaining of power [Arthaśāstra, page 382 (461)] “तद्विशिष्टं (i.e., सैन्यविशिष्टं) तु राजानमात्रितो दुर्गमविपश्यं वा चेष्टत ”—“a weak king should either seek the protection of a powerful king or maintain himself in an impregnable fort.”

That Kauṭilya is consistent will be seen from the rule he lays down on page 263 (327-28): “शक्तिहीनसंश्रेयेत”, “Whoever is devoid of necessary strength to defend himself shall seek the protection of another.” For this idea

of resorting to another king, confer Raghuvamśa XIII, 17 and the Arthaśāstra, pages 388 (468) and 261 (323).

“ पक्षच्छिदा गोत्रभिदात्तगन्धा: शरण्येमनं शतशो महीशा: ।

नृपा इवोपप्लुविनः परेभ्यो धर्मोत्तरं मध्यममाश्रयन्ते ” ॥ Raghu. XIII, 17.

Page 388 (468) : “ In order to escape from the danger from an immediate enemy, a king should frequently send to a Madhyama or a neutral king (whatever would please him) ”*.....

Page 261 (323) : “ The king who occupies a territory close to both the conqueror and his immediate enemy in front and who is capable of helping both the kings, whether united or disunited or of resisting either of them individually is termed a Madhyama (mediatory) king.”†

(V).....Kauṭilya has divided conquerors into three classes called “धर्मविजया”, “असुरविजयी”, and “लोभविजयी” respectively. Confer Artha., page 382 (461): “ Invaders are of three kinds: A just conqueror, a demon-like conqueror and a greedy conqueror. Of these, the just conqueror is satisfied with mere obeisance. Hence, a weak king should seek his protection. Fearing his own enemies, the greedy conqueror is satisfied with what he can safely gain in land or money. Hence, a weak king should satisfy such a conqueror with wealth. The demon-like conqueror satisfies himself not merely by seizing the land, treasure, sons and wives of the conquered, but by taking the life of the latter. Hence, a weak king should keep such a conqueror at a distance by offering him land and wealth.....when any one of these is on the point of rising against a weak king, the latter should avert the invasion by making a treaty of peace, or by taking recourse to the battle of intrigue, or by a treacherous fight in the battle-field (with the three respectively).”‡

Let us now refer to Raghuvamśa, canto IVth.

Raghu is out for Digvijaya. It is not a land-grabbing instinct. In

* “ मध्यमस्य प्रहिण्यादुदासीनस्य वा पुनः । यथाऽसत्रस्य मोक्षार्थं etc.

† The definition and power of a madhyama king:—

“ अरिविजिगिष्ठोर्भूम्यन्तरः संहतासंहतयोरनुग्रहसमर्थो निघेह चासंहतयोर्मध्यमः ” ॥

‡ It will be seen how Raghu is a धर्मविजयी king.

“ त्र्योऽभियोक्तारो धर्मासुरलोभविजयिन इति ॥

[We can well apply this classification to our modern belligerent powers].

तेषामन्यवपत्त्या धर्मविजयी तु व्यति; तमन्यवपत्तेत ॥

परेषामपि भयात् भूमिद्रव्यहरणेन लोभविजयी तु व्यति; तमर्थेनान्यवपत्तेत ॥

भूमिद्रव्यपुत्रदारप्राणहरणेन असुरविजयी तं भूमिद्रव्याभ्यामुपगृष्णाग्राहाः प्रतिकुर्वात् ॥

• तेषामन्यतममुक्तिष्ठानं सन्धिना मन्त्रयुद्देन कृत्युद्देन वा प्रतिब्यूहेत ” ॥

the weakness of human nature, power and pelf play their own part. Raghu is actuated by the first: He is therefore satisfied with a mere recognition of his power. The Sumhas bend down before him and he leaves them unmolested. He reinstals Vangas on the throne. Similarly, with the Kalinga king: Here Kālidāsa clearly announces the nature of Raghu's conquest.

“ गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य स धर्मविजयी नृपः ।

शिवं महेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीम् ॥ IV, 43.

(VI).....Regarding political friends : Raghuvamśa XVII, 58, states that:—

“ हीनान्यनुपकर्तणि प्रवृद्धानि विकुर्वते ।

तेन मध्यमशक्तीनि भित्राणि स्वापितान्यतः ॥

Confer with it, Arthaśāstra, pages 319-320 (388) : “ When, after having put down the enemy, and after having grown in power, a friend becomes unsubmitive, the conqueror should cause the friend to incur the displeasure of a neighbour and of the king who is next to the neighbour..... The conqueror should never help his friend when the latter is more and more deteriorating ; a politician should so keep his friend that the latter neither deteriorates nor grows in power.”* Contrast with these passages the wording of Śukranīti IV. 1, 23, 25, 39-40.†

(VII)......When to declare war ?

Arthaśāstra, page 263 (327) : “ Whoever is superior in power shall wage war.....Whoever is possessed of necessary means shall march against his enemy.”

Page 339 (411): “ The conqueror should know the comparative strength and weakness of himself and of his enemy ; and having ascertained the power, place, time, the time of marching and of recruiting the army, the consequences, the loss of men and money, and profits and danger, he should march with his full force ; otherwise, he should keep quiet.”‡

* “ प्रसाध्य शत्रुं यन्मित्रं वृद्धं गच्छेदवद्यताम् ।

सामन्तैकान्तराभ्यां तत्प्रकृतिभ्यां विरोधयेत् ॥

नोपकुर्यादमित्रं वा गच्छेदवद्यतिकर्षितम् ।

तदहीनमवृद्धं च स्थापयेन्मित्रमर्थवित् ॥

† “ बृहयेत्कर्षेन्मित्रं हीनाधिकबलं क्रमाद् ॥ २३ ॥

मित्रं शत्रुं यथायेन्यैः कुर्यात्स्ववशबर्तिनम् । उपायेन यथा अ्यालो गजः सिंहोऽपि साध्यते ॥ २५ ॥

प्रबलेऽत्रौ सामदानौ सामभेदोऽधिके स्मृतौ । भेददण्डौ समे कार्यैँ दण्डः पूज्यः प्रहीनके ॥ ३९ ॥

मित्रे च सामदानौ स्तो न कदा भेददण्डने ॥ ४० ॥

‡ “ विजिगीपुरात्मनः परस्य च वलावलं शक्तिदेशकालयात्राकालवलसमुत्थानकालपश्चात्कोपक्षयव्ययलाभापदां झात्वा विशेषवलो यायात् । अन्यथाऽसीत् ॥

Confer with it the wording, sense, and arrangement of Raghuvamśa, XVII. 59.

“ परात्मनोः परिच्छिद्य शक्त्वादीनां बलावलम् ।

ययावेभिर्बलप्रश्नेतपरस्मादास्त सोऽन्यथा ” || *

Cf. also “ शक्तेष्वेवाभव्यात्रा तस्य शक्तिमतः सतः ।

समीरणसहायोऽपि नाइम्नःप्रार्थीं द्वानलः ” || Raghu. XVII. 56.

(To be continued)

* Mallinātha has quoted Manu., VII, 171-2, on this verse :—

“ यदा मन्येत भावेन हृष्टं पुष्टं बलं स्वकम् । परस्य विपरीतं च तदा यायाद्रिपुं प्रति ॥

यदा तु स्यात्परिक्षीणो वाहनेन वेलन च । तदासीत प्रयत्नेन शनकैः सांत्वयन्नरीन् ” ॥

The difference in tone between Kauṭilya and Kālidāsa on one hand, and Manu. on the other, will be easily perceived. The difference between “ अन्यथाऽसीत ” and “ आस्त सोऽन्यथा ” is little compared to the difference between them and “ तदासीत प्रयत्नेन ” ! Again, the force conveyed by the phrase, “ आस्तसोऽन्यथा ”, coming as it does at the end of the verse, after completing the previous idea, is very remarkable in the fact that *it is in equal degree that of Kauṭilya*. Again, it should be well noted that the expressions used here are identical and are in great contrast to those of Manu.

SOME ASPECTS OF MODERN ISLAM

(By PROF. A. G. WIDGERY, BARODA).

THE geographical range of the Muslim world is so wide that it is hardly possible to talk of great modern movements influencing its adherents generally. It is intended here simply to indicate the directions in which Muslim thinkers in touch with the best modern education and culture are taking in the representation of their religion. There has been a tendency amongst some Christian writers to say that there are no liberal movements amongst Muslims, even that such are impossible. Dr. Stanley Lane-Poole speaking of the question of reform in 1903 said : "I hope it may be possible, but I feel little confidence in it."¹ Those who have been acquainted with the attitude towards Liberal or Modernist Christianity will recognise the kind of statement we have in Lord Cromer's dictum : "Islam cannot be reformed: Reformed Islam is Islam no longer."² Yet even in 1885 W. S. Blunt wrote : "The fact is, Islam does move."³ At his time a liberal party was formed "to make the practice of religion more austere, while widening its basis, to free the intelligence of believers from scholastic trammels and at the same time to enforce more strictly the higher moral law of the Quran, which has been so long and so strangely violated."⁴ M. E. Montet maintains that the single fact of the development of the Muslim press proves that Muslims have entered into the course of modern civilisation.⁵ Further, in the Report of the World Missionary Conference of 1910 it is admitted that "The remarkable though widely diverging reform movements in Indian Muhammadanism are evidence that beneath the seeming lifeless surface of Islam there are yet processes of fermentation going on."⁶

The movements are not restricted to particular countries. Dr. Zwemer reported in 1911 : "Intellectually also a revival on modern lines has taken place among the Moslems of China."⁷ Other evidence of forward movements might without great difficulty be accumulated. It is a great step forward when the need for reform is poignantly felt and vigorously stated.

1 *Islam*. Dublin 1903, p. 56.

2 *Modern Egypt*. London 2nd, 1911, p. 637.

3 *The Future of Islam*. London 1882, p. 635.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 136.

5 *De l'etat Present et de l'avenir de l'Islam*. Paris 1911.

6 Vol. I, p. 152. For the reality of these movements see also Dr. Zwemer, in *The East and the West* (London) 1915. Vol. XIII, p. 494.

7 *The East and the West*. 1911 Vol. IX, p. 319.

The most modern of Muslims whose writings I have read, says: "We would rather be a Pagan suckled in creed outworn than one of those Christians or Muslim worldlings of whom society seems mainly to consist. I would be the last to lay this at the door of the religions of the world. It is the fault of their exponents, their interpreters who persist in burying truth in a heap of unsavoury dogmas and incredible superstitions." *

Religion is everywhere associated with some type of general culture, but it is a common error to confuse the two. Many objections urged against traditional Islam are not really concerned with religion. In its main principles and practices, the religion of Islam is peculiarly simple, and there have nearly always been men who have taken an enlightened attitude towards it. To some of the earlier thinkers, in particular the Mutazilites and the Wahabis, the most important recent liberal movements appear to have been related. From the earliest time it has been contended that Islam is essentially rational, and the most modern exponents go no further in this claim than their fathers, although they take it more seriously and in a wider sense. One thing is hardly disputable: that Muslims have exceedingly little of their traditional view on religion to discard.

Progressive movements to-day are everywhere related to the advance of education. The fact above all others which makes Sir Syed Ahmad Khan so important in the development of modern Indian Islam is not so much his writings, but his leading part in the establishment of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. There, religion forms an essential part of the college life. The movement to develop it into a Muslim University augurs well for the advance of studies of Muslim culture, as does also the newly established Muslim University at Hyderabad.

There is a desire in Muslim circles, even the orthodox, for more efficient and modern teachers, and some attempt to provide such teachers and leaders. A not very sympathetic person like Mr. Farquhar can write: "They wish them to be cultured men, fit to lead and teach those who have had an English education, and they wish them to be well trained theologians able to defend Islam against Christian, Arya, and Hindu criticism, and to carry war into the enemy's country".† A leading preacher in Constantinople asked, (and the asking the question is significant): "What is a preacher?" and answered himself: "He is the refiner of the nation; he is the teacher of moral heroism; he is the communicator of knowledge; he is the inheritor of the duty of prophecy".‡ To perform his functions properly he must be

* S. Khuda Buksh : *Essays, Indian and Islamic*. London 1912, p. 263.

† *Modern Religious Movements in India*. New York 1915, p. 349.

‡ *Hibbert Journal*, Vol. VIII, 1909-10, p. 643.

learned in the lore of Islam and in philosophy ; he must know the present need of his people and set them an example. The preacher contrasts with this the lives and characters of the religious preachers of Turkey.

One test of genuine advance in the development of liberal views in religion is the attitude of adherents towards the questions of the source and authority of religious beliefs and practices. At the first glance it may appear that in Islam the fundamental steps have not yet been taken in this direction. Even the well educated Muslim who considers himself "liberal" and "modern" often—perhaps most often—still maintains that the Quran is the Word of God in a special sense, regarding its authority as though irrefutable. Muhammad's teachings contained in the Quran are still conceived as God's final (in the sense of sufficient and perfect) revelation to mankind.* The late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, looked upon as one of the most progressive of nineteenth century Muslims, retained the belief in the finality of the Quran, but he held that it was revealed to the Prophet immediately and not through the angel, Gabriel. He tended, however, to admit a human element in it. The Ahmadees, the followers of a reformer in the Punjab, who claimed to be the Messiah, assert :—"We are unable to account for the Holy Quran being so far above comparison with any system of philosophy or well reasoned thesis of a theologian, unless we acknowledge that its author is the All-Intelligent Being.† But though this attitude of conservatism with regard to the origin and nature of the Quran must hinder progress, it is clear that it does not prevent it. For, as always in such instances, the freedom is realised in the mode of interpretation. The right of individual interpretation, as distinct from acquiescence in the traditional orthodox schools, is a mark of the prevalence of modern and progressive tendencies. Thus, the propounders of the passage just quoted, although they believe that no prophet with a new book of revelation will ever come, also say : "Reformers have appeared and will continue to appear with spiritual knowledge of a very high order".‡ Their task has been and will continue to be to interpret the Quran afresh, to free Muslim beliefs and practices from wrong accretions.

A more definitely modern point of view is seen in the works of Syed Ameer Ali, who insists that the essential thing is the spirit of Islam. He agrees that the teachings of the Prophet show a development :—"A careful study of the Quran makes it evident that the mind of Mahomet went through the same process of development which marked the religious consciousness of Jesus".§ He maintains that much of the particular form of the beliefs and practices of the Quran are relative to the time in which they were

* *The Islamic Review.* II. 224.

† *The Review of Religions.* (Qadian.) Vol. XV, p. 296.

‡ *Ibid.* § *The Spirit of Islam.* London

promulgated. He demands a recognition of the supreme importance of a genuine individual religious life and the freedom of judgment which that implies. Another sign of real change is to be seen for example in the pages of the *Islamic Review*, associated with the Muslim mosque at Woking, near London. It lies in a consideration of the passages of the Quran which are used and which are avoided, following the well known and obvious method of advance of putting attention on the good and the ignoring of all which represents a lower stage of human development and a different civilisation.

Bahaism may with some reason be represented as distinct from Islam, but it arose within it, as a modern movement, and has remained more closely related with it than with any other religion. Even its fore-runner Babism denied the finality of the revelation of the Quran, for its adherents were expected to receive the writings of the Bab as later revelations. According to the Bab, there is no final revelation : a new prophet comes when the age needs him. "No point of the Bab's doctrine is more emphasised than this."* Notwithstanding the allegorical contents of so much of the Bab's composition (including the foolish symbolical uses of the number nineteen) the attitude constitutes an advance in that it is a challenge to the rigid orthodox view of the Quran. According to Bahaism no religion represents the absolute truth, which is not to be grasped by human minds. A kind of progressive revelation is taught, which is spiritual in that it is simply the result of a closer communion of a few souls with God. The sacred books of the religion including the Quran are to be interpreted allegorically : "All religions are written symbolically. This is the only way in which truth can be written to withstand time and its changes."† It may also be noticed that those who are striving for modern statements of Islam do not place so great an importance on the Traditions and on later Muslim literature, as do the orthodox. The watchword is : Back to the Quran.

Nevertheless, with whatever goodwill one may study this subject it is scarcely possible to say that there is yet among Muslims a vigorous scholarly study of the Quran according to the principles of research as understood in the west. The desire and the endeavour to show that the doctrines and practices of Islam are in conformity with modern science are there. Jamal-ud-din had a controversy with Renan in Paris on "Islam and Science". In India, Syed Ahmad Khan championed Western learning and strove to "show that the onward march of science and enlightenment is in every respect compatible with Islam."‡ Conscience and the laws of nature (as

* E. G. Browne : *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. II, p. 305.

† Quoted by E. Phelps : *Abbas Effendi : His Life and Teachings*. 1912, p. 134.

‡ G. F. Graham : *Syed Ahmad Khan*. London 1885, p. 114.

discovered by reason) are the tests of religion and in accordance with these Islam must be interpreted. A preacher in Constantinople in 1905 made a strong appeal to Muslims to rouse themselves to share in and advance with modern science and civilisation. Dr. Margoliouth has given an account of a book purporting to be the report of a conference at Mecca, in which objection is taken to the widely spread belief that there is opposition between Islam and science.* Dr. Zwemer reports that "the Muslim newspapers at Baku (Russia) earnestly contend that it is possible to rationalise Islam".†

In recent times there has been great activity in the preparation and publication by Muslims themselves of translations of the Quran into different languages, meant both for non-Arabic knowing Muslims as well as a means of propaganda. Three English translations by Muslims have appeared within recent years. It has been rendered into the vernacular of Java, and there is also a Chinese edition in preparation, perhaps now actually in print. The use of the vernacular in prayer is becoming more common, but chiefly amongst the Muslims of the West and the Bahais. "The Ahmadees besides praying in the language of the Holy Quran and in the words of the Holy Prophet, also cry to their Lord and ask for His blessing in their own tongue".‡

The Muslim conception of God cannot be said to have undergone a radical change amongst modern thinkers. As distinct from the clear theism of orthodoxy, Bahaism, in spite of much assumed hostility to Sufism, tends towards a mystical pantheism. This conception of God it thinks to be in close harmony with the order and permeating intelligence in the world as suggested by a theological interpretation of modern science. The distinction of good and evil is in consequence somewhat blurred. The chief change is one of emphasis, a change which the text of the Quran well supports. From the consideration of the notion of divine power, involved in the frequent utterance of "Allahu Akbar" (God is great) and the conception of man as the slave of God, attention is turned almost entirely to God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. "Mercy is His chief attribute" "A belief in the unity, power, mercy and supreme love of the creator is the cardinal principle of Islam". But it cannot be regarded as in accordance with the conclusions of modern philosophy to say that the existence of God "has not been left unproved in the Quran on a rational basis".§

The problem of freedom has been one of the most discussed by Muslim theologians, and it would not be far wrong to say that with few exceptions

* *The East and the West.* Vol. IV, p. 112.

† *Ibid.* Vol. IX, p. 327.

‡ *The Review of Religions.* XV, p. 269.

§ *The Islamic Review.* 1914. Vol. II, p. 121.

Muslims have been more or less definite determinists. The modern tendency is to modify the rigidity of the position. In the account which purports to report a conference at Mecca the belief in predestination was urged as one of the reasons of the lack of success of Muhammadanism, as paralysing energy and having a numbing effect. At an educational conference at Delhi at the time of the Durbar, the President, the Aga Khan, maintained in an important speech :—"No fair or reasonable minded person who has read the Quran can for a moment doubt that freedom of the will and individual human responsibility are there insisted upon, but Abdul Hasan al Ashari.....whose piety and wisdom cannot be doubted—has placed the stamp of his unfortunately applied but great genius on Islam and given to Muslim thought that fatal fatalism which discourages effort and which has undoubtedly been one of the principle causes of the non-progressive spirit of modern Islam"**

A spiritual interpretation is given to the Quranic language with regard to the future life ; but such an interpretation is not merely modern, it has been frequent with Muslim saints. It is now becoming more generally accepted. "For everything God has ordered a heaven and a hell : its heaven is its place of high degree, of fulness, maturity, perfection ; its hell is its place of low degree, of meagreness, immaturity, imperfection".—"Good thoughts, good resolves, and good deeds, bring men nearer to God, and that is heaven".†

One of the chief aims of reform amongst Muslims has been to free the religious life of the less educated from the excessive veneration of saints and the superstitions associated with such veneration. M. Montet says that the worship of saints amongst Muslims is as great as amongst Christians of pre-Reformation times, and that their lives are represented just as miraculous. It would seem, however, that the extent of saint worship varies greatly in different countries. M. Montet refers mostly to North Africa. Professor T. W. Arnold, writing of India, says "The shrines of saints are still centres of religious influence and attract thousands of pilgrims every year ; amongst the most famous are those of Khawjih Muin al Din Chishti (1236) at Ajmir ; Farid al Din Shakarganj (1325) at Pakpattan ; Nizam al Din Awliya (1325) at Delhi ; and Shah Alam (1475) near Ahmedabad." † Dr. S. Curtis quotes various examples of sacrifices and other practices by Muslims and Christians at the shrines of saints in ‡ Syria. Such saint worship was an especial object of attack by the Wahhabis, and occupied the attention of some of the reformers in India.

No marked changes have been or are being introduced into Muslim

* *The East and the West.* 1903. Vol. I, p. 153.

† Phelps: *Abbas Effendi.* 1912. p. 205.

‡ *The Preaching of Islam.* 1896.

religious practices. There may be occasional disapproval of formalities, as in the performance of the postures of prayer, but there is no advocacy of the abandonment of such postures. A few liberals may read spiritual meaning into the conception of the pilgrimage to Mecca, and regard the actual journey to Mecca as unnecessary, as many Sufis have done in the past. The Bahais place little or no importance on ablutions before prayer. They are also opposed to the excessive asceticism of Ramadhan: "Do not mortify the flesh. Care for the body as the vehicle of the soul and the spirit within: but at the same time do not pamper it."¹ A writer in the Islamic Review even says that Islam divested religion of "all ritual coverings" and thus finds it eminently suitable for the present, for "ours is an age of advancement and symbolism should give place to realities."² To the question whether Muslims should introduce music and the singing of hymns as in the Christian churches, it is objected that "instrumental music in the churches tends to play upon the emotions and produces a religious feeling of an unstable and emotional type but not quiet communion which is permanent."³

In conclusion a short summary of beliefs as given in the words of a modern Muslim will indicate the general attitude. "As a distinctive characteristic of its own, Islam claims to be the final and most perfect expression of the will of God".⁴ But the question here concerns the word "final," for later it is contended that: "The Holy Quran recognises no limit of any kind to Divine Revelation, neither in respect of time or in respect of the nationality of the individual to whom it may be granted. It regards all people as having at one time or other received Divine Revelation, and it announces the door of it to be open now or in the future in the same manner as it was open in the past".⁵ The varied experiences of the Prophet "furnish the best rules of conduct in all the different phases of human life".⁶ The dominant idea in Islam is "the idea of peace". "A Muslim, according to the Quran, is he who has made his peace with God and man".⁷ The keynote of the conception of God in Islam is "Unity": "His are the sublimest and most perfect attributes, but the attribute of mercy reigns over all".⁸ Islam refuses "to acknowledge the incarnation of the Divine Being".⁹ "The person who violates his brother's rights is not a believer in the unity of God".¹⁰ The future life is a continuation of this life and is "a full and clear image of our

¹ Semitic Religion To-day.

² 1914. Vol. II, p. 195. This is especially interesting in view of the quite opposite tendency towards symbolism and mysticism and ritual amongst Christians most akin to Muslims, i.e., the Unitarians, in their Free Catholic movement.

³ The Islamic Review 1914, Vol. II, p. 67.

⁴ Muhammad Ali: *Islam, the Religion of Humanity*. London 1916, p. 6.

⁵ Ibid. p. 13. 6. p. 7. 7. p. 4. 8. p. 10. 9. p. 13. 10. p. 27.

spiritual state in this life".¹ "Man is destined to make infinite progress in that life."² "The punishment of hell according to the Holy Quran is not everlasting. It is meant to clean a man of dross which is a hindrance in his spiritual progress, and when that object has been effected its need vanishes".³ The practices of the religion are said to suit the requirements of all times and peoples: "Prayer is the essence of man's duties towards God."⁴ Fasting is also enjoined in the Holy Quran as a means to the purification of the soul."⁵ "The pilgrimage to Mecca represents the last stage of spiritual advancement",⁶ i.e., complete surrender to the divine will. "It is in Islam only that charity and alms-giving have been made obligatory and binding upon all those who accept the Muslim faith." Salvation is "the state of perfection", "the soul at rest", "freedom from sin and frailties", "possession of spiritual strength", and it may be experienced in this as well as the future life."⁷

1. p. 16. 2. p. 29. 3. p. 20. 4. Ibid., p. 25. 5. P. 25. 6. P. 26.

7 P. 32. Readers interested in this subject may find another paper by the present writer dealing with other historical material in the same connection, published in the *Journal of the Iranian Association* 1918.

I.

STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY.

(By K. G. Śāṅkara, Trivandrum.)

[K. G. ŚEŠHA AYYAR :—THE DATE OF ŚILAPPADHIKARAM.]

[Mad. Chr. Coll. Mag., SEPT-OCT. 1917].

THIS paper needs revision ; and I attempt it here.

It opens with a reference to Dr. Rost's views. One would think it needless, if Drs. Fleet and Macdonell had not recently quoted such views as still true. This only shows that most foreign scholars are either ignorant of, or indifferent to, the results of Indian research ; and it seems hopeless to try to convince them that the South Indian history of even the *Imp. Gazett.* and the 11th Ed. of the *Ency. Britt.* is antiquated.

Then referring to the various theories as to the Sangham age, the author takes up the 5th century A.C. theory for criticism. His arguments are mainly a restatement in English of Mr. K. S. Śrinivāsa Pillai's published in the *Śen Tamizh.*

Mr. M. Rághava Ayyangár thought the following lines from *Ahananuru* mention the flooding of Páṭaliputra by the Ganges :—"பல் புக்கு விதைந்த வெல்-பூர்ணத்தீர், தீர் மிகு பாடவிக்குதிலிக்கண்டை, தீர் முதற்காந்தனிதயங்கொல்லே॥". Mr. Śešha rightly contends that these refer, on the contrary, to the Nandas having hidden their wealth in the bed of the Ganges, and that the supposed flooding of Páṭaliputra has been now disproved by archæological excavations. But, when he suggests that Nanda's motive was to save it from Candragupta, he contradicts the tradition that Nanda hid his wealth even before Candra was thought of. He also argues that Fá-hien refers to Páṭaliputra as deserted, and that it might have been flooded before Nanda's time. But Fá-hien says nothing of the *city* ; and, if it was flooded before Nanda's time, how could the author of the above lines mention it as a *recent* event ?

Mr. Rághava thought that *Aham* mentioned the Gupta invasion of South India, and that Kaurálaka Maṇṭaraja of Samudragupta's inscription must be identical with Mandaran of Kérala. But Mr. Śešha points out that *Aham* mentions, on the contrary, only the Maurya invasion, and that Maṇṭaraja is not identical with Mandaran. But, relying on Dr. Fleet, he says that Kaurálaka lay along the Colair lake, and that Samudra came as far as Kancí, and then, passing through Maháráshṭra and Khandesh, returned home. But Dr. Dubreuil has now proved [*Anc. Hist. Dekhan.*, pp. 58—61] that Samudra never came south of the Krshṇa, that Kaurálaka should mean 'of Kórála' and not be corrected to Kaunálaka, that Dévaráshṭra and Éranḍapalla must be

identified with places of the same name in the Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts, and not with Maharashtra and Khandesh, and that Samudra's expedition, far from being a triumphant conquest of the south, was an unsuccessful attempt to annex Kalinga. Again, the author's statement that Bindusara made Asóka the Dekhan viceroy lacks foundation.

He then examines Mr. L. D. Svámikaṇṇu Pillai's astronomical arguments. Adiyarkkunallar, in his commentary on the *Silappadikáram*, gives the following conjunctions for the same year:—

- (1) 1st Citrai, Sunday, Trtīyá, Svátí ;
- (2) 28th Citrai, Saturday, Full moon, Citra ;
- (3) 28th Vaikaśí, Monday, Śukla Trayódaśí, Anuradha ;
- (4) 29th Vaikaśí, Tuesday, Śukla Caturdaśí, Jyéshṭha, after moonset ;

(5) Aḍí, Friday, Bahuļa ashṭamí, Bharaṇí-Krittika ; Mr. Svámikaṇṇu thought that only 756 A.C. satisfied all these conditions. But others found them an impossible combination ; and he has not yet tried to meet their arguments.

Mr. Sésha points out that these conditions are not in the text, and may have been supplied by Adiyarkkunallar himself, or by an earlier commentator; that, if the flag for the Indra festival was hoisted on the 28th Citrai, the 28 days festival must have closed, and the sea-bath happened on the 26th and not, as the commentator says, on the 28th Vaikaśí ; and that the commentator contradicts the text by saying that the hero left for Madura on the next day, and not on the night of the sea-bath itself. Mr. Svámikaṇṇu assumes that the commentator got his nakshatra for 1st Citrai by calculation from that of the day of starting. Mr. Sésha here suggests that the commentator knew only one disastrous combination--that of Tuesday and Jyéshṭha. But this may be going too far.

Mr. Svámikaṇṇu also assumes that Trtīyá is a mistake for Prathamá ; and thus substitutes Prathamá and Citrá for the commentator's Trtīyá and Svátí. For 28th Citrai, Mr. Svámikaṇṇu admits that, in 756 A.C., the tithi at sunrise was Tīrṇa vódaśí, and not Paurṇamí, and that the latter began only *after* Citra had expired ; and he invites us to hold that full-moon means a day *near* full-moon. This implies that Adiyarkkunallar, who takes such trouble to supply the details, was guilty of loose writing. As to the 29th Vaikaśí also, Mr. Svámikaṇṇu admits that, in 756 A.C., there was no Caturdaśí at all that day, but only Paurṇamí, and suggests that Tuesday night means in fact Monday night, though, then, there can be no combination of Tuesday and Jyéshṭha *at the time of starting*. He casually says that, on that Paurṇamí day, there was an eclipse. But, curiously enough, the commentator, who is at such pains to read later mishaps in the light of evil omens at the time of

starting, hints at no such eclipse. Mr. Śeṣha has thus proved Mr. Svámikanṇu's arguments to date the events narrated in the *Śilap* in 756 A.C. to be unsound.

Mr. Svámikanṇu argues, with Dr. Fleet, that the week-day names are used earliest in India in Budhagupta's inscription of 484 A.C.; and that the *Śilap*, which mentions Friday, must be later than c. 400 A.C. Mr. Śeṣha urges against this the inconclusiveness of negative evidence. But, granting this, the presumption is still in Mr. Svámikanṇu's favour, unless the use of week-day names in India before 400 A.C. can be proved by positive evidence. This he seeks to do by citing the use of the week-day order of planets in the *Puráṇas*, and of 'budhavára' in the *Vaikhánasásútra*. The latter, being quoted in the *Manusmṛti* needs inquiry. But the former does not, as Mr. K. V. Lakshmaṇa Rao has proved [*South Indian Research*, Vol. I, pp. 200—7] that, at first, there was only one *Puráṇa*, the *Brahmáṇḍa*, and as even Baṇa of the 7th century A.C. mentions the *Puráṇa* in his *Harshacarita* as only one, the 'pavamana-próktam' (proclaimed by the wind-god.) Mr. Śeṣha says that the week-day names are mentioned in some *Puráṇas*. But this seems baseless.

He then argues, from the admitted trade-relations of India and Babylon in prehistoric times, that India might have borrowed the week-day names even then. But cultural influence need not go hand in hand with trade. Some of his arguments for even prehistoric trade do not seem conclusive. The *Book of Kings* says that Solomon's ships came from Ophir laden with precious stones, peacocks, and aloes. But these are not peculiar to India. The Hebrew for 'peacock'- 'tuki' is said to be derived from Tamizh 'tóhai', which means *lite* 'tail.' The Hebrew 'ahalin' may be from the Tamizh 'ahil'. But the Babylonian 'sindhū' for 'muslin' is said to be an Indian word, though, in Samskr̥t, the word has no such meaning. Again, 'hórā' is said to be a mutilated form of 'ahóratra,' though the one means an hour, and the other a day and night. Philology thus seems an unsafe guide. Mr. Śeṣha also quotes Mr. Hall to prove the ethnic affinities of the ancient Sumerians and Dravidians, and argues that the Sumerians may have been the borrowers from India of the week-day names. If so, it is strange that India itself should retain no traces of the names before 400 A.C.

Mr. Svámikanṇu argues that the names were not in *common* use before 800 A.C.; but Mr. Śeṣha quotes Sambandha's *CāṇugCāraṇī* padikam to prove not only the *common* use of planets in their week-day order in the 7th cent. A.C., but also that each week-day had a specific auspicious or malignant influence on the minds of the people.

Mr. Svámikanṇu thought that the *Manímékhalaī* mentioned Buddha's reappearance, after 1616 years, on the day of Maṇimékhalaī's visit to Maṇi-

pallavam. But, as Mr. Sésha points out, Buddha's reappearance is not mentioned in connection with Maṇimékhalaï's visit. There the reference is only to an *annual* [Maṇim. canto 14.ll. 91—4] appearance of Buddha's bowl on the surface of that tank on Buddha's birth-day; and, even after that visit, Buddha's reappearance is mentioned as a *future* event [*Ibid.* 12.77-8]. Again, instead of calculating from the accepted date of Buddha-nirváṇa, Mr. Svámikaṇu arbitrarily chose the Chinese date 850 B.C., and further corrected it to 846 B.C., to get his results. He, moreover, does not meet the argument that, because *Maṇim* reckons the nakshatras from Karttiká, it must be dated before the substitution of the Aśviní order.

Mr. Sésha, in his turn, suggests 202 A.C., as the date of Maṇimékhalaï's visit. But this cannot be seriously meant, as it is based on the following assumptions :—

- (1) Buddha reappeared on the day of such visit;
- (2) Buddha-nirváṇa must be dated before 800 B.C.
- (3) Buddha was not only born on Rshabha Viśákha day [*Maṇim*].
but he was born, gained sambódhi, and died *all* in Rshabha
Viśákha Paurṇamí days which were also Friday, Wednesday,
and Tuesday, respectively, as mentioned in decidedly late Bud-
dhist works;
- (4) The Tamizh Buddhists accepted these data;
- (5) Buddha, therefore, died in 1371 B.C., as calculated with the
tables in Mr. T. Śrínivása Rao's *Nirantara-nimisha-gaṇitam*, an
unsafe guide, as may be seen by comparing its planetary posi-
tions for the 1st day of Kali with the well-known approximate
conjunction of the planets at the beginning of Mésha on that day;
- (6) Kalhaṇa based his account of Kanishka's date on 1371 B.C. as
the date of Buddha-nirváṇa.

The last alone deserves consideration. But Kalhaṇa's own account is that his chronology is based on the synchronism of the 1st Kásmír king with the Bhárata war. In fact, owing to his desire to connect the origin of Kásmír history with that national event, his accepting for it the date 2449 B.C., thus antedating it by a 1000 years, the gaps in the history of the early kings, and his tampering with the figures to suit his results, as when he assigns Raṇáditya a reign of 300 years, it is now admitted that his chrono-
logy is unreliable before the 8th century A.C.

Messrs. Śvámikaṇu, and Sésha hold that "Oru pattin mélum oru
mún̄u śenṭapin" [*Maṇim.* 11. 41] refers to the solar day and tithi res-
pectively. This passage, however, mentions that the bowl appeared on the
Maṇipallam every year on Buddha's birthday; and the annual birthday can

be fixed only by the month and nakshatrā, tithi, or solar day, and not by more or all of these, since every year the same nakshatra and tithi, or solar day cannot be in conjunction in the same month. This passage has fixed it by Rshabha and Viśākhā. So the line quoted cannot refer to the tithi, or solar day, but must mean 'after 13 nakshatras had passed.'

Mr. Sésha shows that 171 A.C. satisfies the text-conditions of the *Śilap*. But other such dates can be found; and the reasons why it has been preferred should be mentioned. He also says that the Indra festival began on Citrai Paurṇamī, and that seabath is prohibited on a Saturday. But the festival began, not in Citrai Paurṇamī, but on the Citra day in Citrai [*Śilap*. 6.5-6]; and the latter statement seems unfounded.

Then, dealing with the history in the *Śilap*, he identifies, without giving his reasons, Balakumara's sons with the Kshatrapas, and the Nútruvār Kannar with Yajnaśrī Satakarṇi, though the former are always mentioned in the plural [*Ibid.* 26. 163; 27. 177], and as the rulers of Malva [*Ibid.* 30. 159], with which Yajnaśrī had nothing to do, and though the Samskrit for 'Nútruvār Kannar' is 'Śata-karṇah', and not 'Satakarṇih'. Śenkutṭuvan consecrated a temple to Kaṇṇahi; and the author of *Śilap*, and Gajabáhu of Ceylon [*Ibid.* 30.171, 160] were then present. Of the known Gajabáhus of Ceylon, the II lived in the 12th century A.C.; so the I may have been meant; but he lived in the 2nd century A.C. Mr. Sésha adduces in support of this inference the *Pújāvāli*, and the *Rájaratnákari* which say that Gajabáhu I recovered the Ceylonese carried away by the Cólās to work at the Kávérí, and the *Rájávāli* which adds that he brought back Tamizh settlers, Buddha's bowl, and Patni-dévi's foot-ornaments. But the early *Dīpavamśa*, and the *Mahāvamśa* do not mention any of these events. It is not surprising that these latter, which mention only political and church events in Ceylon, should omit to mention Gajabáhu's peaceful visit to the shrine of the Hindu Patni-dévi, or his bringing back her foot-ornaments. But that they should omit to mention the Cólā invasion, the recovery of the Ceylonese, the bringing of Tamizh settlers and Buddha's bowl is inconceivable. It is also inconceivable that the *Śilap* should omit to mention Gajabáhu's taking with him Patni-dévi's foot-ornaments. The later chronicles are, hence, unreliable. But the *Śilap* would not mention an insignificant foreign king as present at the consecration, unless it was true. So we must date the Sangham age in the time of a Gajabáhu.

Lastly, Mr. Sésha proves, from the references in the *Śilap*, and the *Maṇim* to the flourishing state of Buddhism, that they must be dated before the age of Sambandha, i.e., the 7th century A.C., and thus concludes his luminous discussion.

II.

KAPI, KARNATA, MAISUR, AND NANJINAD.

(BY MR. K. G. SESHA AYYAR, B.A., B.L., TRIVANDRUM.)

I. In one of his interesting articles on the "Contributions of Bengal to Hindu Civilization," Mahamahopadhyaya Hara-prasad Shastri says in reference to Pālakāpya, that as in Sir Chensal Rao's *Gōtra-pravara-nibandha-kadambakam* no mention is made of the 'Kāpya' Gōtra, 'it is evident that it is not one of the Gōtras prevalent among the Aryas' and 'as the Asvalayana, Baudhayana and other Sutras do not mention the name of Kāpya as one of the Munis who founded a Gōtra, it is to be supposed that Pālakāpya did not belong to any of the Gōtras recognized by the Aryans.' The learned Mahamahopadhyaya adds that the 'Kāpya' Gōtra seems to have been prevalent only in Bengal (*Vide J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. V, Part III, p. 312).

I venture to suggest that these statements are incorrect. Pālakāpya, when asked by King Lomapāda, is said to have stated: "My name is Pālakāpya. I take care of elephants and nourish and cherish them; hence my name is Pāla, and the suffix Kāpya denotes the Gōtra or family in which I was born" (*ib.*). The expression *Kāpya* here means 'of the *Kapi* Gōtra', and Pāla, the author of *Hasti-Ayurveda*, was a member of the *Kapi* Gōtra. Balambhatta, in the gloss under placitum 53 of Chap. III of *Yajñavalkya Smriti*, enumerates 18 Ganas or classes of Munis from whom the various Gōtras and Pravaras have arisen, and one of these 18 is *Kapi*. *Kapi* Gana is given there as a sub-division of the Ângirasa division, which also includes among others Bharadwaja Gana, Gautama Gana, Harita Gana and Kanya Gana. *Kapi* Gana comprises, according to this authority, three Gōtras—*Kapi*, *Mahadakṣaya* and *Urukṣaya*. In Chap. XIII of *Baudhayana Grhya Sutra*, which is specially devoted to the consideration of Gōtras and Pravaras, the following account of the *Kapi* Gana is given :

कपयोवैतलानमैतिशायनानां पतञ्जलानात्तरश्चिनान्ताण्डिनां भोजसिनां शाकरवाणानां करशिखण्डानां मैषीत
किञ्चागवो योमापशरावः वौष्यवैत्तेते कपथः । तेषान्यद्योर्ध्यः प्रवरोभवति । अङ्गिरसाऽमहायौक्षयेति होता ॥

उरुक्षयवद्महायौक्षयद्विलाध्वर्तुः ॥ [२६ ॥ चतुर्थोर्ध्यायः ॥ योधायनाहसूत्रे प्रवरप्रश्नान्तित त्रयोदशःप्रश्नः ॥]

(p. 296 of Manakal Muthu Dikshathar's Edition, printed at the Jnana Sagara Press, Madras). From this extract, it is clear that the *Kapis* are of the Ângirasa division forming an extensive group, and the Pravara for the *Kapi* Gōtra is Ângirasa, Amahayya, Urukṣaya. I know several gentlemen in South India who belong to the *Kapi* Gōtra and among them I may mention Mr. N. Krishnaswami Iyer, B.A., Professor of Chemistry in His Highness the

Maharaja's College, Trivandrum, Mr. R. Srinivasan, M.A., Professor of Mathematics in the same institution and Mr. Nilakanta Iyer, B.C.E., Executive Engineer, Madura.

It will be seen from what I have stated that Kapi Gotra is among the principal ancient Aryan Gotras and that it is not confined to Bengal.

II. *Karṇāṭa*.—The name Karṇāṭa has been wrongly construed to mean 'the black land'. 'Karuṇāḍu', in Tamizh, can mean 'elevated land', as 'Karu' means also 'médu' [Tamizh *sól Akarádi*, p. 765]. Probably, that was the meaning 'Karuṇāḍu', or 'Karaṇāḍaham' (Cf. Tamizhaham) originally bore, as the most prominent physical feature of the land of the Kannāḍas is that it is a plateau, or tableland.

III. *Maisúr*.—'Maisúr' is usually regarded as a corruption of 'Mahisha-maṇḍala'. But the original Dravidian name for the country was probably 'Eruvaináḍu' and not Erumai-nádu which naturally was Samskrised into 'Mahisha-maṇḍala'. 'Eruvaináḍu' would denote 'the land of the elephant', as 'eruvai' means 'elephant'. [Cf. 'Paripáḍal' XVIII. where 'eruvai' is explained by Parmélazhahar as 'vēzham'. Vide also 'Tam-Śol. Aka', p. 648]. 'Eruvaináḍu' was probably misread as 'Erumaináḍu'. The misreading is so extremely easy. The name I have suggested will, as a description of Maisúr, suit the country very well. There is evidence to show that 'Mahisha-maṇḍala' applied to a region in the Narmadá valley. In this view, there arises no necessity to enquire whether the original Tamizh name for Maisúr was connected with 'éṭram', which means 'acclivity'.

IV. *Nanjináḍ*.—The two Southern-most taluks of Travancore are comprised in Nánjináḍ, mis-spelt Nanjai-náḍ. It is a tract of extensive paddy-fields. The 'Travancore State Manual' records a tradition that the name Nanjai-náḍ is derived from the Kurava chief Nanjaikkuravan. This is incorrect. 'Nanjináḍ' is a contracted form of 'Nánjil-náḍu'. 'Nánjil' means 'a plough'; so 'Nánjilnáḍu' is the land of the plough', an obviously appropriate name for this country. 'Nanjaikkuravan' is a mistake for 'Nánjil-kuravan', which means the 'king of Nanjil'. 'Kuravan' means 'king', and is distinct from 'Kuravan', a member of the nomadic Kurava tribe.

III.

The Date of Abhinava Kalidasa.

(By R. SHAMA SHAstry, B.A., M.R.A.S.)

There is in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore, a manuscript called Rajasekharcharita, or Life of Rajasekhara, written by a poet known as Kavikunjara. Rajasekhara is described in this work as a Southern Indian king with his capital Vidyanagara on the bank of the Pinakini (probably the South Palar). Bhavani was his queen and Virabhadra his general. The most distinguished poets in his court were (1) Navina Kalidasa, (2) Sringarasekhara, (3) Mandara, (4) Lalitalapa, (5) Srikama, (6) Kamalakara, (7) Gunakara, (8) Rajahamsa, (9) Sridhara and (10) Kavisekhara.

Navina Kalidasa is said to have been born of the Vellala family, and acquired his learning from Akkayasuri. Among his works the following are mentioned in this work:—(1) Bhagavatpādasaptati, (2) Bhagavata Champa, (3) Kalividambana, and (4) Siddhantasara. The first work seems to be a set of seventy verses in praise of Sankaracharya. The second has appeared in print, and a copy of the third work is still in manuscript form in the Oriental Library. The last work, not yet discovered, may be a work on the Vedantic Philosophy.

Among the Southern Indian kings mentioned as contemporary to Rajasekhara in this work are (1) Rajendra Chola, (2) Vijayavarma, king of the Pandyas, (3) a king in Dhara in Malawa, (4) a king of Simhala (Ceylon) not named, (5) Konkanendra, (6) Hunakshonindra, (7) Lampaka and (8) Sevana and (9) a Kuntala king. Of these Rajendra Chola is very well known as having flourished in the first half of the eleventh century A.D. (1004-1016 or 1016-1064). The second seems to be Vijayaditya who was under the protection of Rajaraja, son of Vajrahasta V of the Gangas, contemporary with the Cholas. The Malava king may be either the famous Bhoja or his predecessor. The others are not easily identifiable. It is a historical fact that the kings of Ceylon were at war with one or another of the South Indian kings in the eleventh century A.D. Hence there is some probability in the statement made in this work that Virabhadra, Rajasekhara's general, conquered the king of Ceylon and brought tribute from him. Some of the poets mentioned in this work as being under the patronage of other South Indian kings are:—

- (1) Durjaya under Rajendra Chola
- (2) Sriman ?
- (3) Sukshmamati, a palmist
- (4) Saranga
- (5) Daivajnavallabha, an astrologer
- (6) Soma
- (7) Kamalila, a poetess
- (8) Kasipati
- (9) Sananda under Vijayavarma

- (10) Ratnakara of Sriranga
- (11) Kutumbakavi of Madura
- (12) Lokananda under the king of Malava
- (13) Suktisagara
- (14) Madhurangi
- (15) Lalitangi } Poetesses of Malava
- (16) Vimalangi
- (17) Chātuchakravarti
- (18) Tippavadhani
- (19) Kuppa } of Kanchi
- (20) Lingabhatta
- (21) Santana of Kuntala
- (22) Suka
- (23) Kaviraja of Kanchi
- (24) Vasanta
- (25) Lilakara
- (26) Kantisindhu
- (27) Sunanda, poetess
- (28) Kanakavalli, poetess
- (29) Lakshmidhara
- (30) Badhavya.

Some of these may be imaginary names.

Like the Bhojacharitra, the Rajasekharacharita also wholly consists of verses composed in various meters in praise of the king by local and foreign poets named above. Apart from these poetical flights describing the fame of the king's generosity and bravery there are no other incidents of the king's life noticed in this Charita. There is, however, one interesting incident which deserves to be mentioned here, as narrated in this work :—

After his arrival at Vidyanagara, Durjaya, a poet of the Chola country, seems to have succeeded in winning the favour of Rajasekhara and becoming the leader of the poets at his court, so much so that no poet would find access to the court without Durjaya's introduction. When finding it hard to get access to Rajasekhara's court through Durjaya, Saranga, Somaka, and other foreign poets left the country for good, some poets headed by Navina Kalidasa formed a plot to bring disgrace to Durjaya and get him banished from the Court of Rajasekhara. They went in a body to Durjaya and requested him to introduce them to the king as poets worthy of hearing. When asked by Durjaya what they studied, Kalidasa said that they all studied three cantos of *Raghuvamsa* and four Sandhis in the *Prakriyakaumudi*. As to their poetical skill, Kalidasa sang the following verse :—

“Suklavat bakavachchaiva kusthavat kukkutandavat,
Rajasekhara te kirtih punah kakapurishavat.”

Like a white thing, like the bird, baka, like white leprosy, like a hen's egg,
O Rajasekhara, thy fame is also like faeces of a crow.

Then Sringarasekhara sang :—

Markatasanavachchaiva rakta-tittirichurnavat,
Pratapatapan, bhati Rajasekhara bhupa te ;

Like the hip of a monkey and like the powder of a red tittiri bird, thy valour shines, O king, Rajasekhara.

Then pretending to be pleased with the poetical flight of the poets under disguise, Durjaya took them to the king and introduced them as types of poets that then generally laid claim to the gift of poetical talent. In reply to the question put by the king about their country and learning, Navina Kalidasa said :—

" We have been under the patronage of that famous king who is known by the name *Punyakoti*, devoted to the performance of Vedic rites, learned in the Mimamsa Sastra, a generous patron of learning and now under your protective care. Having heard of your generosity towards learned men and having taken the permission of our patron, we are come here, O king Rajasekhara, to seek your protection. I am called Navina Kalidasa. The others are Sringarasekhara, Mandara, Lalitalapa, Srikama, Kamalakara, Gunakara, Rajahamsa, Sridhara and Kavisekhara. As to our learning, we are all capable of composing a drama or a poetical work of the type of epics in a day, and are well versed in the two Mimamsa sastras, the Sankhya of Kapila, the grammar of Patanjali and also Astrology and Astrology."

Then pleased with the account of the poets, the king asked Durjaya to read the verses of the poets in the paper which he held in his hand. Accordingly he read the verses 'suklavat', etc., mentioned above. When wondering at the difference in tone between what he heard and saw from Navina Kalidasa's poetical narration and the verses attributed to the poets, as read by Durjaya, the king turned his eyes towards Kalidasa, the latter said that but for those wretched verses they would have found no access to the king. Durjaya was so jealous of other poets that he had no scruples to misrepresent them to the king. He misrepresented both Sriman and Saranga as poets whose verses would spell untold misery on their own patron and thus got them out of Rajasekhara's court; and he succeeded in getting rid of Somaka also for the latter's guilt of association with prostitutes. Then Rajasekhara was enraged at Durjaya's bad conduct and banished him from his court.

From this account it is clear that there was a king called Rajasekhara somewhere on the bank of the Palar in Southern India and that he was contemporaneous to Rajendrachola 1004—1016. It is not known who was Punyakoti and where his capital was situated. Whether Somaka may be identified with the author of *Kathasaritsagara*, Sridhara with the Commentator of the *Puranas*, and Kamalakara with the author of *Nirnayasindhu*, are questions that deserve consideration. The reference made by Abhinavakalidasa to ancient Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa* is a clear proof that there were two Kalidasas, one earlier probably in the 5th century A.D., and another later in the eleventh century and that the latter was probably alive and in the Court of king Bhoja of Dhara in Malava.

IV.

The Eras of Vikrama and Salivahana.

(By R. SHAMA SHAstry, B.A., M.R.A.S.)

There is a traditional story that in B.C. 56 Vikrama established an era after his own name and that in a battle fought near Karur in 78 A.D., Salivahana defeated Vikrama and started his own era, now known as Salivahanasaka. But from the verses composed by the late Krishnaraja Wodier, III of Mysore, enumerating the number of years constituting the four ages and of the six eras marking kings in each of those ages, it is apparent that while the arbitrary division of each of the four ages into six eras is evidently a later invention, the duration of 35 years of the Vikrama era, strikingly small when compared with the number of years assigned to other eras, seems to have some historical foundation. While all the eras of the other three ages and the Salivahana, Vijayanandana, and Nagarjuna eras of the Kali age are made to end in complete centuries, the eras of Yudhishtira, Vikrami, and the imaginary Kali are given integral numbers. The odd numbers of the Kal era closing the Kali age is, of course, due to the ending of the eras of Dharmaraja and Vikrama in integral numbers, inasmuch as $3044 + 135$ requires 821 to give a complete number of centuries. Hence it appears probable that the Yudhishtira and Vikrama eras are based on some historical foundation. The abrupt close of the Yudhishtira era with its 3044th year and that of the Vikrama era with its 135th year cannot otherwise be accounted for. The usurpation of the Vikrama era in its 135th year, i.e., 79 A.D. by the Salivahana era seems to be an event of Southern India. This explains the absence of the Salivahana era and the use of Vikrama era instead in the north of India. There is nothing to show on what authority king Krishnaraja Wodier's verses are based. He was a highly learned Maharaja always in company with the best Pandits of his times, is all that is known. The following is the translation of the verses:—

The number of years in the Yugas, as determined by H.H. Krishnaraja Wodier III of Mysore.

I.

" 1728000 years constitute the Krita age. The six era-making kings (Sakabhupa) of the Krita age are (1) Harischandra, (2) Nala, (3) Purukutsa, (4) Pururavas, (5) Sagara, and (6) Kartavirya. The number of years assigned to the era of Harischandra is 288000; that of the era of Nala is also 288000; that of Purukutsa is 368000; the era of Pururavas contains 248000; that of Sagara consists of 288000, and that of Kartavirya is 248000: Total = 1728000.

II.

The Treta age consists of 1296000 years. The era-making kings of this age are (1) Mandhata, (2) Dilipa, (3) Raghu, (4) Aja, (5) Dasaratha, and (6) Rama. The Mandhatri era contains 467000 years; the era of Dilipa has 316000; the years assigned to the era of Raghu are 226000; those of Aja are 216000; Dasaratha's era contains 60000; and that of Rama has 11000. Total = 1296000.

III.

864000 years constitute the age of Dvapara. The six era-making kings of this age are (1) Nahusha, (2) Yayati, (3) Dushyanta, (4) Santanu, (5) Chitravirya, and (6) Pandu. The first era contains 118000 years; the second 216000; the third 126000; the fourth 124000; the fifth 140000; and the sixth 140000. Total=864000.

IV.

432000 years make up the Kali age. The six era-making kings of this age are (1) Dharmaraja, (2) Vikrama, (3) Salivahana, (4) Vijayanandana, (5) Nagarjuna, (6) Kalibhupa. The first era contains 3044 years; the second, i.e., of Vikrama, has 135; then that of Salivahana 18000; that of Vijayanandana consists of 10000; then that of Nagarjuna is of 400000; and the sixth, i.e., of the Kali contains 821. Total=432000.

Thus in every age there are six omniscient emperors (chakravartins). The four ages are made of 4320000 years. Thus has king Krishnaraja under the protective care of Chamunda enumerated the years of the era-making kings." (Sankhyaratna Kosa, etc., pp. 117-119. Litho. Print No. B. 141; Government Oriental Library, Mysore.)

R. SHAMA SHAstry.

V.

Kalabhras and the Sangham Age.

By Mr. K. G. SHANKARA.

THE Kalabhras were so prominent from c. 600 to 800 A.C. that the Pallavas Simhavishnu [South. Ind. Insc., Vol. 2, p. 356] and Narasimhavarman I [*Ibid.* 1-152], and the W. Cālukyas Vikramāditya I [*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 9, p. 129], Vinayāditya [*Ibid.* 7. 303], and Vikramāditya II [*Epi. Ind.*, Vol. 5, p. 204] claim victories over them. But Varāhamihira (c. 550 A.C.) omits them in his list of South Indian tribes. So they were prominent only after c. 600 A.C.

The Sangham works nowhere refer to the Kalabhras, or their occupation of the Pāṇḍya country mentioned in the Vēlviḍi plates of Jatila Parāntaka. So they must be dated either before, or after the period 600-800 A.C. But the bigger Cinnamanur plates make the hero of the Talai-alankanam battle, one of the latest Pāṇḍyas of the Sangham age, and the founder of the Madura Sangham, ancestors of the hero of Nelvēli [*lines* 101-6]. The Vēlviḍi grant makes the latter the third ancestor of its donor (acc. 767. A.C.); and none of *his* three predecessors, the earliest of whom was Kaḍunkōn, is called the hero of Talaiyālankānam, though their exploits are related in detail. Neither was the battle insignificant, as it is proudly mentioned in the Sangham works and the Cinnamanur plates. The Sangham age must, hence, be dated not after 800 A.C. but before $767 - 27 \times (3+3) = c. 600$ A.C.

* The average for a generation is here assumed to be 27 years, for it is the interval between successive generations of fathers and sons, i.e., the age when the

eldest son is born to an Indian king; unless the known dates indicate a different average for any definite group of kings.

The Véļvikuđi grant says that Kuđumi, a Pándya of the Sangham age, granted Véļvikudi to Narkotran of Kořkai [ll. 31-8], that it was resumed by the Kalabhras during their occupation, and renewed to a descendant of Nařkotran by its donor [ll. 111-8]. The passage relating to the Kaļabha occupation is as follows:—

“ வேஷ்டன் அப்பொழுத்
 நிரோட்டித்தொட்த்தமையால் நிடுக்தித்தபின்
 அளவரிய ஆற்றாக்கர அகலிச்சி அகலிடத்தை
 கூற்றென்றும் கலிஅரசன் கைக்கொண்டதை இநக்கியபின்
 படிகடன்முனைத்த பகுதிபோல் பாண்டியாக்ராஜன் வெளிற்பட்ட
 விடகதிரவிரோதி விவக வீற்றிருக்து.....
 கோவும் குதும்பும் பாவுடன் முருக்கி.....
 தரணிமங்கையைப்
 பிறர் பாலுரிமை திறவிதினீக்கித்
 தன்பாலுரிமை நன்கணமூழ்த்து.....
 கடுங்கோவென்றும் கதிரவேந்தரென்னான் ” [ll. 38-46].

We may now discuss its meaning. By the 'original grant, the village was enjoyed for a long time (*nīdu*), i.e., for at least a century. Then the Pándyas were set aside by a Kalabhra who, in turn, was expelled by the Pándya Kadunkón.

We can split up 'Kaikkondadanai' into 'Kaikkondu' referring to the Kalabhra's act, and 'adanai' referring to the grant-property. But a relative pronoun must be construed with the next previous noun, here 'ahaldattai.' Thus construed, the passage becomes meaningless. If we take 'adanai irakkiyapin' to mean 'after the grant-property was resumed,' we have no word to express the recovery of the kingdom before Kadunkón can rule. So 'irakkiya' must refer to such recovery.

Hence, if we split up 'kaikkondadanai,' we must construe 'kaikkondu' with Kalabhran, and 'adanai irakkiyapin' with Kadunkón, when both should, by grammar, have a common subject. So 'Kaikkondadanai' must be one word. That is also the metrical construction. It then refers to the kalabhra occupation and Kadunkón's recovery, as 'irakkiya' literally means 'to lower' i.e., undo another's act.

If it is supposed that the kingdom was recovered by an ancestor of Kadunkón he must have been the next one, since nothing indicates other kings in the interval. But then we would have no subject for 'irakkiya,' and nothing hints at an implied subject. The contest also indicates that Kadunkón himself recovered the kingdom; for, before his accession, he appeared like the sun springing from the ocean. The Pándyas seem to have been submerged by an ocean-like disaster, from which Kadunkón was the first to spring up. The phrase 'appearing like the sun' is used later on [ll. 51—62] in prefacing Máravarman's victories. The analogy shows that Kadunkón also became prominent by his recovering the kingdom. 'Veļirpaṭṭu' is used in the same sense of 'becoming prominent' later on [ll. 49, 88-9]. So Kadunkón himself recovered the kingdom; and the Kaļabha occupation

was only of short duration, since it was the feat of a single Kaṭabhra, himself expelled by Kaṭunkón [ll. 40, 111-2].

Then 'ahaliḍattai' literally means 'wide-spread space.' The Kaṭabhra first annexed it; then it was recovered by Kaṭunkón. After his accession only, the latter subdued other kings and chiefs. So the 'ahalidam,' that he recovered *before* his accession, can only be the Pándya country.

Again, 'ádhirájarai' can indicate that the Kaṭabhra deprived others, besides the Pándya of their lands. But 'ahalidam' refers only to the Pándya kingdom. Why should the victories, therefore, of a foreign king over other foreign kings be mentioned in a Pándya grant? So 'ádhirájarai' cannot include other kings also. Neither can we construe both 'níkki' and 'írakkiyapin' with Kadunkón, because he defeated other kings only after his accession. Also such conquest should come *after* the recovery of his own kingdom. 'Ádhirájarai' thus applies only to Pándya kings. Elsewhere also [ll. 32, 41, 47], the term applies only to Pándyas.

But, while in these latter lines it is used in the singular, here it is in the plural. So the plural indicates at least two Pándyas. But since the Kalabhra was a single king, they must all be referred to his lifetime, if they were all displaced. But there would be no need to displace them all, unless the kingdom had been recovered by a succeeding king, of which there is no indication. So only the last of them was displaced by the Kalabhra; but, since he came of a long line of Adhirájas, they may all be poetically said to have been displaced through their representative.

Lastly, 'alavariya' means 'countless,' and not 'incomparable,' since nothing in it expresses the idea of comparison, or greatness. 'Alavariya ádhirájarai,' therefore, means 'countless Pándyas through their last representative.' But there might have been many Adhirájas both before and after Kudumi. The Vélvikudi grant thus enables us to fix the close of the Sangham age as not later than c. 600 A.C., but perhaps centuries earlier.

REVIEWS.

Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India,
Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1919,
PUBLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.

THIS interesting report by Mr. R. D. Banerji, Superintendent of Archaeology, is an informing document containing a mass of information relating to all departments of Archaeology. It is prefaced in Part I by a report of the administrative work which is divided into various sections. The first relates to publications by the members of the departmental staff. Mr. Banerji is responsible for four articles to various Journals either already published or in course of publication. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, the Assistant Superintendent, is similarly responsible for four of which two are Epigraphs edited for the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The next section relates to the various museums under the control of the Superintendent, the Poona Museum, the Prince of Wales Museum, Bijapur Museum and Rajaputana Museum. The work relates principally to the arrangements of various items in the museum and the classification of coins in them.

Under the heading Original Research comes in a very important contribution since published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society on the Kharoshthi alphabet.

Another important item of research conducted by Mr. Banerji is the examination of a new horde of Punch-marked coins found in the Purnya district of Bihar and Orissa. He examines the position taken by M. de Lacourdemanche that the system of weights, etc., recorded in Manu and Yajñavalkya are of Iranian origin. This conclusion had been arrived at by the French Savant after an examination of the mean weights of Punch-marked coins. This position will be reviewed in the article which is expected to be published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Under Epigraphy, a number of inscriptions have been collected, a summary abstract of the contents of which is given in Part II (A) of the report. The most important record among them bears upon the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty of Kanouj. The record brings to light for the first time a ruler by name Mahipāla with a date the equivalent of A.D. 915. It also exhibits a local dynasty ruling in and around Mathura whose history is taken back by few generations. We knew hitherto only of one Mahipāla of the Gurjjaras, and another of the name belonging to the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. So this Mahipāla is apparently a new one, second of the name in the dynasty of the Gurjara-Pratiharas. As Mr. Banerji points out it was unlikely that the first Mahipāla's territory extended so far as to include Bayana, where the inscription was found, in his territory.

In regard to the minor local dynasty he points out that a Saurasena dynasty was ruling in Mathura and the surrounding countries till the time of rise to power of the Gurjara-Pratihara Bhoja I. It was Bhoja that reduced them to vassalage under him.

Another inscription of great importance is a record found in the state of Ajayagadb in the Bundelkund Agency of Vyāgrasēna a feudatory of the Vākātaka king Prithivisēna and the record will be published in due course in the *Epigraphia Indica*. This record shows that the power of the Vākātakas extended as far as Bundelkund. Two records of Dhruvasena in the Prince of Wales Museum were examined in the year. Among a number of other interesting records two of them exhibit the alphabet and conjugational terminations in what is called a Sarpabandha form. The record is referred to the 11th century and to the reign of a successor of the great King Bhoja of Dhāra by name Udayāditya. The peculiarity of this record consists in putting down the letters of the alphabet and the terminations referred to within the loops of a snake coiling itself in a very complicate way.

Mr. Banerji also undertook an elaborate search for Muhammadan inscriptions and makes important suggestions for a systematic collection of several of these which do not so far appear to have been collected.

In regard to the excavation work the work had been stopped during the period of war under orders of the Director-General of Archaeology so far as the Bombay Presidency was concerned.

Under Numismatics, Mr. Banerji has had a number of important finds of coins sent on to him for examination. The most interesting find in this interesting collection is a coin of Shivaji. A horde of 63 gold coins was found in Bhusawal Taluq in East Khandesh District, one of which is a coin of Shivaji found amidst a certain number of coins of Vijayanagar. "The coin is exactly similar in form to the pagodas issued by the kings of Vijayanagar and by the earlier kings of Mysore. The legend is exactly the same as that on the Sivarai copper coins, viz., *Chhatrapati* on one side and again *Sri Raja Siva* on the other. This confirms what I said in reviewing Mr. Kincaid's History of the Mahrattas that Shivaji drew his inspiration for empire from what he learnt of the empire of Vijayanagar, and that he wished to appear before the world, at least as against the great Moghul Aurangazeb, as the champion of Hinduism and as the legitimate successor of the emperors of Vijayanagar. There are a number of other interesting coin finds among which two found in the collection of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society are interesting. One of them refers to an issue by the Peshwas with the legend *Panta-pradhana* in Devanagiri; the other carries the legend *Tukoji-I-Holkar*. In another interesting horde were found two interesting coins of Muhamad-bin-Tughlak, one of them was a gold coin similar to one in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. This was issued from Daulatabad; the other is altogether a new type and resembles a copper coin figured in the Coins of Pathan kings by Edward Thomas.

The rest of the report is occupied with two sections the first of which has reference to Mr. Banerji's notes on Conservation of Monuments. In many instances Mr. Banerji complains that there is a lack of interest in the administrative

authority; in others he finds that the restoration carried by the D.P.W. shows no eye to the Archaeological part of the work. Restoration work is carried on in all sorts of ways, without adequate consideration. The work is the restoring of ancient monuments, not of making them stand somehow. It is a matter of general complaint among those interested in archaeology, that the work of restoration is carried on by those who have no notion of how the work should be done.

In the next part, Part IV, Mr. Banerji has some interesting features to point out in regard to various localities where excavation work is carried on. On the whole we must congratulate Mr. Banerji on the excellent turn-out of the report both in regard to the work done and in regard to the inherent interest of the material provided.

The report is provided with 27 sheets of photographs which add to the value of the report itself and enhances the interest of the publication very greatly. Some of them exhibit the restoration work that is carried on satisfactorily in certain localities. The report is a record of excellent work done and we have nothing but commendation for it as a whole.

S.K.

Archaeology and Vaishnava Tradition.*

(BY RAMAPRASAD CHANDA, B.A.)

IN reviewing the fourth Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India, the Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagari, we remarked that the evidence produced in it regarding the existence of an old Vishnu temple of the third or fourth century B.C. raised a very interesting question requiring further research. The memoir now under review gives us further light on the same topic, though it does not utilize the information given in that memoir.

As Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda rightly remarks, the Science of Archaeology owes in a sense its origin and advancement "to a desire to test the authenticity of the sacred traditions" of Biblical history primarily. The application of Archaeological Research to Indian material, though it tended to revive memories of certain lost cults or of cults now comparatively unimportant, and to bring to prominence the excellence of past architectural and pictorial arts, was for a long time directed in a large measure, though not solely, to the elucidation of dates or the reconstruction of dynastic chronologies. A happy revival has recently been inaugurated of the practice of devoting greater and increasing attention to the light thrown by the archaeological material on the history of the people's lives, beliefs and institutions. The monograph before us shows the great value of such work.

While the antiquity of Buddhist traditions has been amply testified to by the Asoka inscriptions and the Barhut sculptures, and Jain traditions have similarly been demonstrated by the Brâhmi inscriptions of Mathurâ and others, the traditions

*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 5, Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.

of current Indian Sects have received very little light from archaeological discoveries so far. That this, however, is not solely due to the lack of inscriptive material is what Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda proves to us in this memoir.

"The earliest known Vaishnava monument is the inscribed column at Besr agar near Bhilsa (Vidisa) in Central India (Gwalior State)." Its date is some time in the first half of the second century B.C. and it records the erection of that column a Garudadhvaja of Vāsudēva by "Heliodorus, a Bhāgavata, who came as Greek ambassador from Maharaja Antialkidas to King Kāsiputra Bhāgabhadra."

A fragment of another octagonal column Garudadhvaja erected by another Bhāgavata, about the close of the second century B.C. is also found in Besnagar. Mr. Chanda adduces convincing arguments in support of the following conclusions to be derived from these two inscriptions.

- (1) That Vāsudēva-Krishna cult (Vaishnavism) was widespread in the country round Vidisa at that period ;
- (2) That at least two temples to Vasudeva existed at the time ;
- (3) That the Hindus allowed at the time, the absorption of foreigners into their fold ; and,
- (4) That the Hindus abandoned the practice of admitting foreigners into the Hindu fold at a much later period.

Mr. Chanda next refers to "the Capital of a column and a *makara* which originally surmounted the Capital now lying by it a few yards off the column of Heliodorus" and points out how this *makaradhvaja* bears testimony to the antiquity of the tradition in Sanskrit literature describing Krishna's son Pradyumna, as *makaradhvaja*.

The inscription next in time to those at Besnagar is a stone slab inscription found at Ghasundi, a village four miles north-east of Nagari in the Udaypur State, Rajputana. It speaks of "a stone enclosure of worship for Bhagavats Saṁkarshana and Vāsudēva erected within the temple of Nārāyaṇa by a Bhāgavata." It may belong to the latter part of the second century B.C. These two deities Saṁkarshana and Vāsudēva are invoked also in an inscription found in a cave in Nānāghat, in the Deccan, and belonging probably to the same period, the close of the second century B.C. While these inscriptions seem to refer a popular cult worshipping the two brothers Baladeva (Saṁkarshana) and Vāsudēva (Krishna), the Mora stone slab inscription, in the Mathura Museum of Archaeology, furnishes evidence of the connection of Vāsudēva with the five Pāndavas in popular belief, even before the Christian Era thus making the Krishna traditions fairly complete.

Mr. Chanda completes his monograph with a reference to "a fragmentary stone inscription of the time of Mahākshatrapa Sōdasa (first century A.D.) that relates to a great place (Mahāsthāna) of Bhagavat Vāsudēva evidently at Mathurā." The reference to this shrine as Mahāsthāna coupled with the other inscriptions noticed warrant the assumption that the Vāsudeva cult (Vaishnavism) was a popular belief at least as early as the second and first centuries B.C.

We share in the belief expressed by the author "that the excavation of the

ancient sites of Western and Central India, and particularly those of Besnagar and about Mathurā, will reveal more materials for the early history of Vaishnavism", and hope that here in the South of India also, our Archaeological Departments will carry on similar work in respect of the ancient capitals which flourished before the Christian Era.

A. V. R.

Varieties of the Vishnu Image.*

BY PANDIT B. B. VIDYABINOD, ASSISTANT CURATOR,

Archaeological Section; Indian Museum, Calcutta.

THE interesting monograph before us deals with the identification of the 'chaturvimsati mūrtis' or twenty-four images of Vishnu. *Agnipurāna*, *Padmapurana* and *Hemadri's Chaturvarga Chintamani* are laid under contribution by Pandit Bidyabinod, who describes clearly and graphically how to distinguish the various images of Vishnu from the manner in which the four pre-eminent emblems of Vishnu, namely, *Sankha*—(the conch), *chakra* (the discus), *Gada* (the mace), and *Padma* (the lotus) are distributed among his four hands. Several useful tables are given in the book to facilitate intelligent comprehension of the details and the identification of particular images. "The key for the understanding of the whole system" is the permutation of the abovementioned emblems among the four hands of the Vishnu image, they being considered in the following clockwise order, (1) lower right hand, (2) upper right hand, (3) upper left hand, and (4) lower left hand," or as in *pradakshina*, religious circumambulation.

It would indeed be interesting, as the Pandit says, to determine how many of the twenty-four varieties are actually represented in existing images and how many are purely schematic or literary currency. And it is not only surprising (to use Pandit Bidyabinod's phrase) but disappointing as well, that the India Museum has images of only four out of the twenty-four varieties.

Interesting as the Monograph is, we cannot help feeling that it is far from exhaustive. In such publications, one naturally expects that the subject should be treated not merely in the light of the author's own study of original authorities but also comprehensively in the light of previous researches in the same field. One feels disappointed to find no reference in this monograph to the able treatment of the same subject in the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao's monumental work† on Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Part I, pages 225, 244 the more particularly because images of six more types are reproduced there from originals found in the *Chennakesava* Temple at Bēlur.

The following brief extracts from those pages will help to elucidate the interest of the subject :—

"Among the thousand significant names of praise relating to Vishnu (*Vishnu sahasra-nāma*) twenty-four are considered to be the most important and are daily

* Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 2. Price 12 annas.

† Elements of Hindu Iconography by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A., Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore State. (Law Printing House, Madras 1914).

repeated by many Brāhmaṇas in their daily prayers. Corresponding to these twenty-four names, images of Vishnu are found sculptured in the Vaishnava temples situated in the old Hoysala land (Mysore), where indeed they are met with more frequently than elsewhere. * * * * *

Of these twenty-four *murtis* of Vishnu, some are considered to be fit for worship by certain classes of votaries, and others by other classes. The *Rūpamandana** states that happiness comes to Brahmans by worshipping *Kesava*, *Nṛarāyaṇa*, *Mādhava* and *Madhusūḍhana*. When worshipped by Kshatriyas, *Madhusūḍhana* and Vishnu bestow on them all good, while the Vaisyas obtain their good by adoring *Trivikrama* and *Vāmana*. To the Sūdra the worship of *Srīdhara* is considered to be specially beneficial. The god who confers blessings on the cobbler, the washerman, the dancer, the hunter, the *Virāṭa* and the *Mēdabhilla* is *Hrishikēśa*. *Padmanābha* is particularly the god of the potter, the petty merchant, the harlot, the oil-monger, the vendor of liquors. The *Yati* (mendicant ascetic) and the *brahmachāri* (student anchorite) should offer their worship to *Dāmōdara*."

The point need not be laboured further. The field for research in India's past is still so vast and the matters requiring elucidation so overwhelmingly large that working in water-tight compartments is wasteful and unprofitable. We have little doubt that if the materials of the other workers had been before Pandit Bidyābinod, we would have had an even more interesting and instructive essay than the valuable one which we now have before us.

A.V.R.

A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and the North West

Frontier Province. Volume I.†

COMPILED BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

THIS book is mainly based on the Census Reports for the Punjab, 1883 and 1892, written respectively, by the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson, K.C.S.I., and by His Honour Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., the present Lieutenant-Governor, and also the Governor-designate of that Province. These reports have been supplemented to a large extent by the enquiries of the several Punjab Officers since 1903 and by Mr. Rose's own studies and researches during that time. Though the compilation has, Mr. Rose tells us, occupied his leisure for sixteen long years, we share with him the feeling "that another four or five years might with advantage have been taken in arranging the material better."

The work, as it stands, is nevertheless of a monumental nature, and very comprehensive,—a little too much so, we fear. It extends over nearly 1,000 pages and we cannot help feeling that the bulk could have been reduced and the really

* The work relied upon by Mr. Gopinatha Rao. Mr. Gopinatha Rao mentions also *Padmapurāṇa* but rejects it as inaccurate. The classification in *Rūpamandana* is scientific, exhaustive and the items mutually exclusive which is not the case in the *Purāṇas* or in *Hemādri*.

† To be had of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, Lahore. Price Rs. 6 or 9s.

new material contained in the book presented better by omitting from it information already available in published works of authority and common to the whole of India relative to the main religious systems, and the basic social customs. We take it that it is the purpose of the provincial series to present local peculiarities and exceptions and that the proper way of presenting features common to the whole country is in a general volume.

The perplexity of the reader is enhanced, as he is not given the convenience of a table of contents to understand the scheme of arrangement of the book.

Both ethnologically and historically, the Punjab and the North West Frontier Province are of great interest to the student of Indian Ethnology and History. Owing to its situation at the gates of India, the Punjab has witnessed the various migrations into, and invasions of this country and the investigation of the relics left by each such invasion would of itself suffice for several volumes. It is no wonder therefore that by the inclusion of the general matter as well, the work has become unmanageable.

Our foregoing remarks should not however be taken as detracting from the intrinsic value of the book itself and of the materials presented in it. The encyclopaedic character of its contents prohibit our doing adequate justice to them in the short space of this review. The earnest reader may be confident that he has a rich repast in its pages. For ourselves, the experience has been most stimulating and pleasant.

For a description of the growth of religious thought, the development of the various cults and practices, the process of deification of natural forces or of heroes or physical phenomena, the explanation of the various rites, observances and beliefs as well as for an examination of the ethnic content of the population, Mr. Rose's book affords ample guidance and instruction.

To our mind, this glossary has pointed one moral; and an important one too. The rites, ceremonies and the very superstitions and beliefs recorded of our brothers in distant Punjab, even in very minor matters accord so fully with similar beliefs and ceremonies prevalent down in the South of India, thousands of miles away that it affords ample proof for the assertion that fundamentally India is one.

The examples that follow will bear out our contention better than any arguments can :—

"Ancestor-worship is very common in the hills..... One of the commonest forms is the erection of a *dhaji* or monolith near a village, with a rough figure of the deceased cut on it, and a circular stone fixed on the top."

"Some of these pillars record 'sati' while others are "of the nature of monoliths in memory of the dead". (pages 195-6). Who can fail to recognise in these, the prototypes of the *Viragals* of Mysore ?

"Resuscitation from death is *believed* to occur, and people who have come to life say they went to Yamaraj, the kingdom of the dead, and found they had been mistaken for some one else, so they were allowed to return." (page 205).

Here again is a belief and an experience whose counterpart occurred in the present writer's family and about which he has heard first-hand from the person who had the experience.

"Finders of treasure-trove often will not touch it, fearing lest the *bhūt* in charge would do them some evil" (page 207).

"When a man sneezes his friends say 'live a hundred years'! Sneezing is always a bad omen among Hindus and a sneeze from anyone near him will always prevent a Hindu's starting on a journey or any important business." (page 221).

"When starting on a journey, if a Brahman is met, the omen is unfavourable" (page 225).

"It is unlucky to travel in the direction in which the *jognis* are on any given day, but this omen may be evaded by the device called *pastāna* (parasthan) in Dera Ghazi Khan" (page 245).

Why in Dera Ghazi Khan alone? We believe it is so all over India. At any rate, it is so in South India as well.

"Hiccoughing is attributed to recollection on the part of some relative or friend who, if mentally identified at the time, can stop the affliction..... Hiccough may also be cured by shock" (page 253).

Which South Indian mother has spared her child instruction in this secret?

The above instances taken from very trivial matters will go to establish more firmly than any rhetoric can, the essential unity of Indian civilisation and culture, and with it, its nationality, albeit its superficial variety.

We may fittingly close this review with a few instances of observances and beliefs peculiar to the Punjab, so far as we can make them out.

"Every village in the Tibetan frontier has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulae. These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for a safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter; each goes to a Lama and purchases a slate which he deposits carefully on the village *mani* and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard." (page 69).

In South India, Brahma alone of the Hindu Trinity has no temple of his own and there are legends told accounting for this. But in Kulu, we are told that Adi Brahma is worshipped and has even temples (page 118). And here is another novelty:—

"At Gurkhri, four miles from Kangra town, there is a temple to Anjana, wife of Kesari, and mother of Hanuman (*Anjaneya*)" (page 120).

Of the couvade, we are told, "Repeated enquiries had hitherto failed to elicit any trace in these Provinces, but Mr. H. W. Emerson, c. s., has now found it in Mandi, where 'the man goes to bed when a son is born; either the mother or the

father must be on his back for three months and as the mother does most of the work, the father does most of lying-in."

The volume is enlivened towards the end by excellent diagrams showing "Caste and sectarial marks," and "designs used for decoration of buildings."

A.V.R.

* The Panchapatalika with a Hindi translation and notes,

EDITED BY BHAGAVADDATTA, B.A.,

Professor of Vedic Theology and Sanskrit D.A.V. College, Lahore.

THIS is one of the ancient Sanskrit treatises explaining and pointing out the division of the Atharva Veda into Kândas, the arrangement of hymns in each Kânda, the number of verses in each hymn, and the total number of verses in all the Kândas put together. The text cannot be easily understood without a commentary. The Editor has taken the trouble to translate the text into Hindi and has thus supplied a commentary of his own. According to the text the total number of verses and sentences in prose in the 18 Kândas of the Atharva Veda is 4627. The nineteenth and the twentieth Kândas which appear in the printed edition are not noticed in the text. They appear not to have formed part of the Samhita proper, being considered as Khilas.

R.S.

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MAHARAJA CHIKKADEVARAJA WADIYAR
OF MYSORE.

(*A Paper read before the Mythic Society.*)

(B. PUTTAIYA, ESQ., B.A.)

ಶ್ರೀಮಂತಂ ಯಾದುಶ್ಯೈಲವಲ್ಲಭ ಪದಾಂಭೀಕೃತಾತ ಭೃಂಗಂ ಗಂಡಾ !
ರಾಮಂ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ರಂಗಥಾಮನಗರೀ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನಾಧೀಶನು ॥
ದ್ವಾಮ ಶ್ರೀ ಯಾದುನಂತ ಕಳ್ಬತ ರುಪ್ರಾಧತ್ವಾಳಂ ಜಗ !
ಶ್ರೀಮಂತಿತ್ವನೆಗ್ಗಳುಬಾಗ್ಗ ಚಿಕ್ಕದೇವಂದ್ರಂ ವಂಹಿಂಧಂದ್ರಮಂ ॥

“BLESSED with health, wealth and happiness, ardent in devotion to God, adorned with all the worthy virtues and graces, Lord of the Throne of Seringapatam, the generous of the generous in the illustrious Yadava line of kings, the beloved of the world—May Chikka Devaraja live and prosper as king of kings, delighting the hearts of mankind like the moon.” (Page 8, verse 25, of ಅರ್ಥಕವುವೀರಚರಿತ.)

Maharaja Chikkadevaraja Wadiyar was the fourteenth ruler in succession after Yadurayar, the founder of the Mysore Royal Family, and was born in the year 1645 A.D. There is some difference of opinion about his parentage that requires to be touched upon here in passing. Wilks says that ‘he was the son of the elder brother of Dodda Devaraja Wadiyar whereas in the

Annals it is stated that he was the son of Dodda Devaraja Wadiyar himself, his mother being Amritamanniavaru, wife of Dodda Devaraja Wadiyar. This is corroborated by the accounts given in "Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali." Mr. Shama Rao says that Chikka Devaraja was the son of the second brother of Raja Wadiyar. Mr. M. A. Srinivasachar doubts Mr. Shama Rao's statement and that of Wilks and supports what is given in the *Vamsavali*. The *Vamsavali* is corroborated by the *Annals* which is an authenticated history of the Mysore Royal Family published so recently as 1916. Hence there is little reason to doubt that Chikka Devaraja Wadiyar was the son of Dodda Devaraja Wadiyar by his wife Amritamanniavaru.

The account of the birth, up-bringing and early training of this great prince is not available as no historical record of the same is forthcoming written by any of the contemporaries of Dodda Devaraja Wadiyar but a most magnificent and glorious picture is depicted in "Chikkadeva-raja Vamsavali" by the learned poet, author and statesman Tirumalarya, the playmate, companion and life-long minister of Chikkadevaraja Wadiyar. His description can only be a glorious imagery because he and Chikkadevaraja were born at about the same time and lived and played together, but there is no doubt that after-events have justified the lavish and superb description indulged in by Tirumalarya in regard to the infancy and boyhood of his royal companion, master and patron. (*Vide* pages 161 to 191 of *Vamsavali*).

Chikkadevaraja Wadiyar is described to be the very incarnation of Sri Krishna, the divine being Himself. “ಅರಣಿಸತ್ಯಮುಂಗಭಾದ್ರೋಳಾ ಪೂತ್ರ ಶೃಂಕಿಯಂತ್ಯಾಂ ಜನನುಂಪೂತ್ರ ರಾಜನಿಡಿತಯಂತ್ಯಾಂ ದಿನಯನುಂ ಪೂತ್ರ ದಿಷ್ಟಿಯಂತ್ಯಾಂ ನೇಸಂಪೂತ್ರ ಮುಂಬಗಲಂತ್ಯಾಂ ಕುಂಬಾಷಯಿಯಂತ್ಯಾಂತ್ಯಾತ್ ಪೂತ್ರಮೆಯಂತ್ಯಾಂ ಪೂರ್ವಯೋಳಾ ಶ್ರೀಮಂತ್ಯಾಂ ರಾಯಾಂನಂ ಪೂತ್ರ ಪೂರ್ವರೀಣಾದಾರಾ” which translated freely means that “the royal queen carried Sri Narayana Himself in her womb like the Sutris pregnant with wise counsel, like the political philosophy imbued with exalted reputation, like the learning carrying humility with it, like the Day carrying the Sun and the Night carrying the Moonlight.” (Page 161.)

The Jois Alahiyasingararya predicted [“ಆ ರಾಯಾಗಾವರಂ ಕನ್ನ ಜಾಕಾದ್ರೋಳಾ ಹಾಥಿವನರ್ವದಿಂ ಸರ್ವಿಷಾಧಿವ್ಯಾತ್ಮಮನುಂ ದಕ್ಷಿಣಾಯನದಿಂ ದಕ್ಷಿಣದಿಕ್ಕಾಶವರ್ತಯಾಂ,” etc., etc., etc., etc., etc. (page 166)], that “the royal child would be king of kings, the emperor of the southern kingdom, the commander of an immense army, pure in mind and deed, the saviour of all devotees of Vishnu and the delight of all good men.” The father named the child as “Chikkadevaraja” and the poet reads the following meaning into the word (page 170). He was named *Raja* because he would be lord and beloved of the world. “He was called *Deva* because he exhibited the divine attributes of ever present cheerfulness, triumphant disposition, goodness, happiness, pride and beaming personality.

He was called *Chikka*, meaning small or young, because all these virtues were associated with him from his young days."

The prince was brought up with all the indulgence and care that a royal son receives at the hands of his parents and preceptors and it is stated that he became learned without difficulty causing his teachers great surprise at the erudition displayed in mastering the Sastras and philosophies. He was trained in music, physical exercises like wrestling and the various arts and literature of the day, in the laws of the land, in political philosophy, in the use of offensive and defensive weapons and in horsemanship.

Having been brought up and educated in this wise, he came to the throne in his 28th year in 1673. Wilks says that his claims were passed over in favour of Dodda Devaraja whose elder brother's son, he states, he was and that therefore he was kept in confinement in the village of Hungala along with his father by Dodda Devaraja. But as we have already seen Chikka Devaraja is according to the latest information the son of Dodda Devaraja himself and not Dodda Devaraja's brother's son as Wilks says. But it is likely that as Wilks opines a great deal of confusion in names and kinships had arisen on account of the frequency of the same name being applied to different persons and to different persons of different relationships, giving room for misapprehension.

Wilks states that he passed his youth in Yelandur. This is probably accounted for by the fact that he married the daughter of Yelandur Lingarajaiya, Devarajamanniavaru and also Muddamanniavaru, daughter of Chamarajayya of Yelandur as stated in the *Annals*. It is also stated that Chikkadevaraja's tutor was one Vishalaksha Pandit also of Yelandur, a jain by persuasion. He had complete sway over the Raja and followed him wherever he went so much so that Chikkadevaraja developed early an antagonism to Veerashaivism and inclined towards Jainism. Consequently on his coming to the throne, the Jain Pandit easily became his chief minister. During the first fourteen years of the reign, he had complete mastery over the Raja and influenced him to such a great extent that religious intolerance arose and led to the imposition of many vexatious taxes which were vehemently resented by the people who blamed the Pandit as the doer of all the mischief and hated him from the bottom of their hearts. A gruesome story is related by Wilks, which is not mentioned in the *Annals*, of how the Raja was made to grant an interview to a number of Lingayat leaders under the pretext of listening to their grievances and then how the scheming Pandit arranged to behead each interviewer as he was led out of the royal presence after the interview into an adjoining tent for the ostensible purpose of being entertained. A wholesale

massacre of Lingayats was arranged in the whole country at the same time and the Lingayat Mutts and religious places were razed to the ground. This savagery and butchery were rightly attributed to the Jain Pandit and a fit of deep resentment having arisen he was murdered. Strange to say, this Jain while on death-bed requested the Raja who had visited him on learning of the murderous attack on him, to appoint Tirumalayyangar, a Vaishnavite, and the Raja's playmate and Court Vidwan as his next minister. The Raja complied with the request of his Jain preceptor with the result that Tirumalayyangar was raised to the position of Prime Minister. He in turn became as zealous as his Jain compeer in securing complete mastery over his royal master and in weaning him from Jainism and Shaivism with as much zest as the Jain Pandit. Chikkadevaraja gradually yielded to this great influence and ultimately openly advocated Vaishnavism, the worship of Sri Krishna and his attributes. It is related in the *Annals* that on the advice of Tirumalayyangar he ordered his Purohits and Smartha Vidwans to enter the palace with Namams or the emblems of Vishnu painted on their bodies, that only those who had ceased worshipping other deities than Vishnu were deemed eligible to contract relationship with the king and that even the servants waiting on the king were enjoined to have the emblems of Vishnu burnt on their bodies. Likewise the Ursu members of the Royal family were ordered to observe the tenets of Vaishnavism which they readily assented to do and recorded their willingness in writing.

The first fourteen years of the reign were devoted to internal affairs with the exception of some minor conquests. The first administrative reform effected was the appointment of an Executive Council consisting of five ministers, viz., (1) the Jain Pandit, Vishalaksha Pandit, (2) Tirumalayyangar, (3) Chikka Upadyaya, (4) Shadaksharayya, and (5) Lingannayya on whom was bestowed the administration or *Karnikship* of the entire Mysore territory. It will be seen that the Council was composed of the most noted Pandits and writers of Chikkadevaraj's court whose reputation for scholarship and literary merit have outlived their existence and who are even now acknowledged as the standard authors in the Kannada language.

Raja Wadiyar had consolidated the territories conquered by him and after bestowing some as Inams and others on his vassals, he had amalgamated the smaller slices into bigger ones and fixed 84 divisions as comprising Mysore State. He had also created Hoblis amalgamating smaller villages with bigger ones.

Chikkadevaraja undertook further consolidation and created an elaborate revenue and police establishment for each division. He fixed the remuneration of village, Hobli and divisional officials and issued rules for their regular

payment. Subedars, parpathegars, clerks, store-keepers, daffedars, sheristedars and other minor servants were also appointed. He established a postal service and made it the means also of receiving secret intelligence of what was happening in the interior parts of his territory. He created the nucleus of a standing army and appointed superior officers, such as a sergeant, daffedar and a hoblidar to be in command of a band of men ranging from 100 to 400. Their duty was to keep in readiness weapons of offence and defence including gun powder shot and to be prepared to fight when necessary. He organized an establishment whereby a regular inflow of income in kind and coin was assured to the Palace treasuries. A subedar, a sheristedar, store-keeper and clerks were appointed for this purpose with suitable remuneration to each of these officials and they arranged that one half of the produce of land might be regularly remitted to the Palace. He appointed an establishment to look after irrigational facilities and to see to the proper and timely distribution of water for irrigation purposes. A manegar, shanbhogue, a nirganti or water servant were appointed as also a small establishment to look after palace interests.

It was in the time of Chikkadevaraja that the wonderful autonomous system of village Government and village improvement was perfected in Mysore. The duties of the twelve professionals who constitute the mainstay of each village and upon whom devolves the wellbeing of the population of each village called the Barabalooti, *viz.*, (1) the Gowda, (2) the Shanbhogue, (3) the Village Priest, (4) the Ironsmith, (5) the Goldsmith, (6) the Potter, (7) the Dhobie, (8) the Brick-layer, (9) the Scavenger, (10) the Carpenter, (11) the Waterman, and (12) the Village Servant, were more definitely defined and their remuneration fixed.

Finding that weights and measures were not uniform and were much abused, he fixed the standard of each and caused the monogram of his name, the letter \mathfrak{z} , to be impressed on each and ordered that all weighments and measurements should be made in these approved weights and measures as a safeguard against fraud. Similarly he caused seals bearing the monogram \mathfrak{z} to be kept in the custody of local officials to be used whenever necessary for sealing purposes.

He encouraged the cultivation of cultivable waste lands by granting concessions of revenue for a fixed number of years. In the case of superior land, the remission granted was two-thirds of the full assessment for a period of five years and in the case of the land of medium quality it was one-fourth. He fixed the assessment for cocoanut gardens at the rate ranging from 15 to 30 pagodas per 1,000 trees. Seeing that arecanut gardens had escaped assessment, he included them as taxable and thus tapped a fresh

source of revenue. Whenever a ryot applied for a garden land, he was charged assessment for the plantain trees grown thereon till the cocoanut and areca plants yielded fruits when the assessment on plantain trees was remitted but levied on these grown-up trees. Similarly he arranged for the taxation of all other fruit trees and for the collection of fruits and hay in a central store at Seringapatam.

All this elaborate system of organization and taxation naturally roused the resentment of the cultivators who were hitherto free from any harassment and who had thereby become wealthy and arrogant. They began to disobey the commands of the Government and became insolent and openly stated that they saw no reason why they should pay assessment for the benefit of the palace. They said, "God favours rain; cattle till the soil: we grow crops by hard toil; why should we pay taxes to the king?" Chikkadevaraja did not tolerate this open defiance of his orders and he punished the leading rebels most exemplarily and in order to prevent further mischief and to bring them to submission, he levied 19 more taxes and appointed an establishment for its collection.

It was in Chikkadevaraja's time that the building of towns with divisions and shop centres was taken up on an extensive scale to deal with merchandise and to provide settlements for industrial population. He strengthened the fortresses he had won from the poligars, built towns round them and constructed high streets and shop centres therein and arranged for the weighing and selling of goods in these centres before they were transported to the interior for being sold in retail. It is interesting to note that Bangalore, Gubbi and Turuverkere were among the first towns so organized by him. As a result of the establishment of these centres, trade developed and the Raja found an opportunity to tap fresh source of revenue and he forthwith introduced the octroi system of collecting revenue on all marketable articles, such as cloth, drugs, tobacco and similar articles and entertained an establishment for collection work. This was probably the beginning of the opening up of municipal revenue in Mysore.

To Chikkadevaraja Wadiyar belongs the credit of developing municipal administration in Mysore. With the organization of towns the necessity for safeguarding the lives and property of the large number of inhabitants who had settled there and who were engaged in various avocations was felt. He therefore selected the leading members of each community resident in each locality as Setti and Yajaman, *i.e.*, as chief men and entrusted them with the function of looking after the municipal welfare of the residents of the locality entrusted to their charge. They were also empowered to hear complaints and deal punishment within their limits. These Settis and

Yajamans correspond to the municipal commissioners and honorary magistrates of the present day. They commanded great influence and wielded considerable powers and were each given an establishment consisting of a shanbhog, a cheluvadi (a peon), a tom-tom man, a buglar or horn man, a drummer and a few watchmen whose duty it was to patrol the streets during night in order to apprise the residents to be alert against thieves and to glean secret information and to collect municipal revenue. In short, this was the rudimentary town police and collecting staff. Gradually this staff became the honorific appendage of the Setti and Yajaman who paraded themselves with these honors in all festive occasions in their houses. There are relics of this system even to this day in Bangalore, though much shorn of their ancient glory.

By means of this elaborate organization, the Raja was able to assure himself of a steady income to the State Treasuries. His detailed plan for the collection of every item of revenue shows his financial ingenuity and organizing powers. His acute business organization and shrewd sense of utility of method and system in the arrangements he made for tapping the resources of the State for the benefit of the public exchequer commands our admiration. In order to satisfy himself that the system he had built up was working satisfactorily, the Raja estimated the revenues of his State at 7,20,000 pagodas and ordered that 2,000 pagodas should be brought daily to his treasury without fail so that the whole of the revenue of the State might be paid up in the course of the year without any arrears being left for collection the next year. He was so particular that he was not satisfied with the mere report that the money was deposited in the treasury but insisted upon seeing the hard cash with his own eyes before ordering its deposit in the treasury. If the arrival of the money bags were on any account delayed, the Raja used to go without food till the money arrived and spend the interval in the reading of the Ramayana and other sacred books. This self-denial on the part of the Raja was an incentive to his officers to be always alert and to exert their utmost to collect the money and deposit the same at the right hour in the royal treasury. By means of such conscientious methods the Raja amassed nine crores of pagodas and in consequence was proclaimed with the title of "ನವಕೋಟಿ ನಾರಾಯಣ" (Navakötì Nārāyana) the lord of nine crores, a complimentary title for accomplishing a rare deed. It is also stated that because he was a great conqueror and took nine forts in one day, he got the title of "ನವಕೋಟಿ ನಾರಾಯಣ" (Navakötē Nārāyana) lord of nine forts. Both titles are equally appropriate in his case, though he is usually known by the former title which curiously enough sounds like the other with a world of difference in the meaning.

After making arrangements in this manner for the internal administration of the country, the Raja turned his attention to effect reforms in the Palace. The first reform was the perfecting of the arrangements to store all the articles received in the Palace. Hitherto there was only one big store at Seringapatam. He ordered a smaller store to be built and issued instructions that all stores newly received should be deposited in the big store, the old stock being removed therefrom and transferred to the smaller one to be expended for daily consumption while the big store should be kept filled at all times with fresh stock to the extent removed from it. He also arranged for extra stores being built for fruits and vegetables that were not hitherto stored, any quantity that was left unconsumed being exposed for sale in shops specially opened for the purpose. He entertained an establishment to see to this arrangement.

He improved and enlarged the Magazine store, the stables and the armoury and appointed a clerical establishment to look after them. The domestic business of the Palace was divided into sections and each section was assigned a definite function. Twenty-two new sections were opened, and sufficient establishment to manage them was entertained. Some of these sections were the treasury, the cloth store, the jewelry store, the elephant stable, the personal establishment, the Palace menial staff, the Palace arms, and so on. These are in existence in the Palace organization even now.

The Raja then turned his attention to social reform, *i.e.*, the reformation of the abuses that had crept into the circle of his own kindred. Having learnt that many Ursu noblemen had departed from the established customs of their family, he ordered a thorough enquiry with the result that he weeded out the renegades and divided the community that stood his test of purity into two classes—one comprising 13 families and the other 18—and prohibited intermarriage between the members of the two classes so as to preserve the absolute purity of the 13-family community. In order to ensure continuity of policy in this respect and to settle all disputes pertaining to marriages, adoption, religious practices and so on, he appointed a deputy (**சுவாபந சரண்** and **குட்டார்**) to whom was delegated the functions of arbitration and settlement with authority to bring matters of moment to the royal notice. The deputy received all the honours that the sovereign was entitled to on all festive occasions in the households of the Ursu noblemen. Under the advice of Tirumalayyangar the Raja commanded his near relatives, the 13-family Ursu noblemen to observe Vaishnava practices and decreed that it was only those who had received Vaishnava consecration that would be eligible for relationship with the royal household. The Raja had by his searching and all-embracing reforms in the administration become so powerful that none

dare disobey his injunctions and accordingly the leading representatives of the families humbly subscribed in writing to the royal decree and agreed to abide by the royal decision. But later on they found that their new creed clashed with the time-honoured observances that had been ruling in their families which the ladies of the household probably could not lightly put aside. Consequently they again submitted to the sovereign to permit them to continue to observe their time-honoured customs in conjunction with the new faith that was enjoined upon them. The sovereign accordingly agreed to this request.

The Raja next turned his attention to systematise the salaries and wages of his personal and administrative staff. He fixed half the salary to be paid in cash and the other half in kind and ordered that no servant or officer should spend beyond his means and status and if any one was found doing it, he instituted a thorough inquiry as to how he came by the extra cash and meted severe punishment to those who borrowed as well as to those who lent money. He was particularly scrupulous in maintaining the purity of the service and to deal severely with all instances of corruption that came to his notice.

The many charities that he made took the form of gifts of dwelling-houses to the vedic Brahmans, endowments of land and land revenue for the maintenance of numerous temples all over the State and the building of temples, tanks, and houses for public use. He built a temple near Gundlu village and created an endowment of six thousand pagodas per annum for its maintenance, and built Agraharams or rows of dwellings on three occasions in the neighbourhood of this temple and gave them out in charity to the Brahmans of the three principal sects. He built the temple of Swetavarahaswami at Seringapatam, of Gopalakrishnaswami at Haradanahalli, of Varadarajaswami at Barakodu to which he added a fine pond with a flight of stone-made steps on all the four sides. He enhanced the endowment and annual expenses in connection with the existing temples of Sri Chamundeswari of Mysore, Srikanteswaraswami at Nanjangud, and other temples at Melkote, Seringapatam, Yedatore, Ramanathapura and Karighatta. He gave monetary and other help to all the poor Brahmans and provided a living for the poor and the helpless in all the communities and endowed mosques and mutts with liberal grants. He bestowed lands for the livelihood of the widows and children of the fallen heroes in the many battles he fought. He constructed the two great water courses in the vicinity of Seringapatam called after his name. In this wise, he administered his territories so as to secure peace and contentment to one and all of his subjects.

It now remains to briefly narrate the conquests made by the Raja who was as great a hero in winning territories as he was in the organization of their civil administration. It is not necessary to narrate in detail the history of each expedition and the details of the planning and the carrying out of the campaigns. Suffice it to say that the Raja was a great general and organizer and by dint of superior prowess was able to win and annex a very large territory extending to Salem and Coimbatore districts as far as Mannargudi to the south-east, to Coorg on the west and Bednore towards north-west.

The outstanding events in connection with these conquests are the acquisition of Bangalore, the seige of Trichinopoly, the wars with the Maharattas and the embassy to the Emperor Aurangzib. The country was in a chaos at the time. Overrun by Maharatta hordes who were pursued by the armies of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzib who had specially come down to the Deccan to subjugate them, there was a good deal of unsettlement in the country. Bangalore had been wrested by the famous Maharatta chieftain Sivaji from Kempe Gowda and Sivaji's relatives were in possession of it while he himself extended his conquest to Tanjore where his half brother Venkoji and his son Shahaji resided. When Chikkedavaraja made successful expeditions to Madura and Trichinopoly and brought many chieftains into submission, Shahaji had heard of his prowess and thinking that he would be more than a match for him, he decided to be in friendly terms with him. Seeing that Bangalore was too far away from Tanjore, the seat of his Government, he offered to sell Bangalore to the Raja for a consideration of three lakhs of pagodas. The Raja readily agreed to buy Bangalore accordingly but before the transaction could be completed the general of the Emperor Aurangzib, Khasim Khan by name, came in pursuit of the Maharattas and entered Bangalore. The *Annals* state that the Raja fought and drove him out of Bangalore and occupied the place but Wilks says that the Raja was far too shrewd to attempt any such rash act. He saw that the courting of Khasim Khan's friendship would by far be the better thing to do under the circumstances as it would enable him to put himself in favour with the Emperor Aurangzib who had already set an eye on the territories of the Raja. The Raja foresaw the unwisdom of turning hostile to the Emperor while he was quietly and without any interference on the part of the Emperor's deputies subjugating minor chiefs and consolidating and extending his territories. The Emperor's friendship would also be a source of strength to him as it would enable him to overawe the many turbulent chieftains and Polegars whom he had subjugated. On the other hand, the Emperor too was not in a mood to quarrel with the Raja because he found out the necessity of securing the alliance of a powerful local chieftain in order to facilitate the

marching of his armies for which the territories of Mysore offered a convenient stage on the widely extended range of operations carried on by the Emperor against the Maharattas all over the Dekkan. Chikka Deva Raya therefore made common cause with Khasim Khan, says Mr. Wilks, and opened negotiations to buy Bangalore from him. Khasim Khan on his part saw that the Raja who had earned a reputation as a great and powerful chief would be of immense use to him as ally, and finding that he himself would be unable to hold Bangalore for any length of time on account of the expeditions he had to make, handed over Bangalore to the Raja and received the sum of three lakhs of pagodas bargained therefor. The Raja thereupon improved the place, built a fort and a shop street, imported a large industrial population, such as the weavers, arranged for the safety of the town and made it a big cloth centre for the export of cotton goods to all parts of his territories.

His numerous conquests and the subjugation of a large number of local polegars created the necessity of enlarging his army and the strengthening of the forts with cannons and guns. He therefore increased the strength of his army by 12,000 horse and 100 thousand infantry fully equipped with all weapons of offence and defence and mounts, such as horses, camels, elephants and remounts, such as oxen, carts, tents, etc.

Doddadevaraja Wadiyar had conquered the chiefs of Trichinopoly and Madura and had made them his vassals fixing the tribute payable by them. The chiefs gradually slackened the payment of the tribute and finally stopped it. Chikkadevaraja having learnt this decided to subjugate them and accordingly sent an expedition under his commander-in-chief Dalavai Komaria. In the meanwhile the Raja came to know that two powerful Maharatta generals, Jayaji Ghatke and Nimbaji Ghatke, taking advantage of the absence of the Mysore army at Trichinopoly were on their way to Seringapatam. The Raja immediately sent an order to his Dalavai at Trichinopoly to send back a great portion of the army under Dalavai Doddavayya through Kavaripuram ghat. Accordingly Doddavayya arrived at the Mysore Plateau, but by that time the Maharatta generals had encamped near Seringapatam. By a stratagie arrangement whereby the battle was fought during the night and a number of oxen to whose horns lighted torches were tied, were driven in the opposite direction so as to give the impression that the enemy were fleeing, a complete and decisive victory was obtained and the two generals were killed. A large and valuable booty was secured and the heads of the killed generals were hung upon the gates of the Seringapatam fort. This victory over a formidable foe who were held in mortal dread was a great triumph for the Raja whose prestige and name as a powerful ruler spread far and wide. The court poets sang his deeds of chivalry and glorified his name in verses of great laudation.

The Raja's local enemies were silenced and all of them acknowledged him with humble submission as their suzerain master and overlord. It is also stated that the Raja brought these powerful chieftains to Seringapatam and gave them various dignified appointments in his household and converted them from powerful chieftains into humble courtiers. This victory impressed even the Emperor Aurangzib who was making long and futile attempts to subjugate the Maharattas and raised the Raja in his estimation and it is stated that the Emperor used to mention the Raja's name in his durbars and hold him out as an example for his generals to follow.

At this time the Raja thought of sending an embassy to Aurangzib in order to win him over and to enhance his own prestige in the eyes of his subjects. It was a diplomatic move designed to secure the friendship and good will of a great Emperor as a token of his own exalted status that would impress his subordinate chiefs who were frequently planning mischief against him. He created a profound impression by despatching the embassy and secured the unstinting loyalty and devotion of all his subjects as an illustrious ruler and a stern and kindly administrator.

He deputed Karnik Lingannayya as his ambassador to the court of the Emperor with costly jewels and cloths and a letter of friendship. The *Annals* state that as soon as Lingannayya was announced as the ambassador from Chikkadevaraja of Mysore, the Emperor directed that the ambassador from a king "who is interested in the welfare of the Mughal Empire" may be introduced to him. On the ambassador offering the Raja's letter and the presents, the Emperor made kindly enquiries of the Raja's health and said, "Your King has conquered many enemies and acquired considerable territory and his administration is noted for justice, impartiality and firmness. The remarkable prowess he has displayed in killing the two Maharatta leaders, Jayaji Ghat and Limboji Ghat, who had besieged Delhi two or three times but could not be captured, has given us great satisfaction. We are well-wishers of your country, and your king is our great friend and we shall be very glad to assist your king when occasion arises." The Emperor then gave decorations and honors for the Raja consisting of the title "Raja Jagadev," the Lord of the Universe, a seal bearing the words "Raja Chikkadevaraj Muhammad Shahi" and many others including (naubat) drums that are used to honor Muhammadan kings together with valuable presents comprising costly precious stones and rich cloths. It is stated in the *Annals* that the ambassador Lingannayya informed the Raja about the success of his embassy and the kindly reception he had from the Emperor and that when he appeared near Seringapatam on his return, the Raja gave him a grand reception, causing all the insignias and the Kharita received from the Emperor to be deposited in a palanquin and

paraded round the town in all pomp and splendour. After the procession was over, he dedicated them all to the God Ranganathaswami prior to his using them for himself.

The Raja was now in the height of his glory—supreme in his power and dignity. The pomp of his court, the splendour of his honours and titles and the dignity of his entourage comprising all the powerful chieftains he had vanquished and the enhanced reputation of his having been honoured by the Emperor himself made him suzerain and great in the eyes of his subjects. His rule became one of the most illustrious and memorable in the annals of Mysore.

From the description already given of the arrangements he had made for the carrying on of the civil administration it will have been observed that he was a great organizer. He tapped every resource of his State and built up an organization to collect systematically all possible revenues and to administer the country with the greatest possible efficiency that could be adopted in those times. Establishments were maintained for Revenue, Police, Judicial and Municipal work and responsible officers were employed to maintain them in order and to secure intelligence and information readily for the royal ears. The Raja was evidently a lover of well-ordered Government. The love of the Raja for organization went to such a great length that he is reported to have inquired the ambassador who had been sent to Emperor Aurangzib as to how that great ruler was conducting his administration. On his being told that the Emperor had a central administrative machinery comprising 18 separate departments for the transaction of public business, the Raja at once gave orders to constitute similar offices and the requisite establishment. The Hindustani name for the office is *कारागार* which has become a colloquial word in Kannada and the Public Offices in Bangalore are even to this day spoken of as *ಕಾರಾಗಾರ* by the public.

Mr. R. Narasimhachar, our well-known scholar, antiquarian and archaeologist, gives in his "Karnataka Kavicharite," Vol. II, a graphic summary of the achievements of Maharaja Chikkadevaraja Wadiyar, culled from the numerous works of Chikkupādhyāya, the renowned poet, minister and contemporary of the Maharaja. It is well worth quotation as it summarises pithily the notable events of the Maharaja's reign. (Page 456 of Kavicharite, Vol. II.)

"Chikkadevaraja reigned from 1672 to 1704 A.D. and was the author of the following works: Chikkadevaraja Binnapa, Gēethā Gōpāla, Bhāgavata, Sēsha Dharma and Bhārtha. He was the most famous of Mysore Rajas. His father was Doddadevaraja and mother, Amritambe. He was a great hero and generous patron of literature. He wrote Sanskrit and Kanarese

works and gave great encouragements to many learned men. It was due to his help and incentive that Tirumalārya, Singarārya, Chikkupādhyāya, Srīgārāmā, Honnāmma, Vēnugopālavaraprasāda, Thimma Kāvī, Mallikārjuna, Chidānandākāvī, Malla Rāsa and other poets were able to write standard works in Kannada, thereby contributing to the richness and greatness of the language.

"He secured fame in Northern India as a great conqueror, rendered the Delhi Provinces impotent, conquered the kings of Bijapur and acquired their territories, defeated the Golkonda king, and also Sivaji who had entered the Karnātaka territory, vanquished the Maharatta commanders, Jaithāji and Kātaka, killed Dadāji and Kakade and had their heads taken round the streets of his capital, put Shambhoji in mortal dread, killed Yekkoji who came to his (Shambhoji's) rescue, cut off the nose of his (Yakkoji's) minister Yesavanta Row, humiliated the kings of Golkonda and Bijapur who were vassals of Shambhoji, invited the Delhi Emperor Aurangzib and with his help took them prisoners and secured possession of their territories and finally put down the warrior races of Morasas, Tigalas, Kodagas and Malayalees who had been intoxicated with pride and confidence in the Maharatta power. In this manner he won territories in all directions and lived happily passing his time in good company and in the observances of good practices. He conquered the following places: Chedamangalam, Malali, Parvathi, Salem, Dharmapuri and the fortresses belonging to Pandya kings; Kengeri, Vamalur, Bevuhalli, Byrannetta, Kunnathur, Kandikere, Chikkanaikanhalli, Honnavalli, Sarathavalli, Turugere, Maddagiri, Channarayadurga, Veeranadurga, etc., and had innumerable vassal chiefs paying homage to him, took Bangalore which had been the capital of the Maharratas from the time of Sahaji and killed Shambhuji, Shahaji, Santoji, Haraji and other Maharatta rulers and leaders. In this wise Chikkadevaraja won the reputation of being an inimitable conqueror (ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಕುಶಲ) and the ruler of mankind (ಸರಸಕೆ).

"He had a profound knowledge of music and literature and was an ardent devotee of Sri Narayanaswami of Melkote.

"His character and achievements are given in Chikkadevaraja Vijaya, Chikkadevaraja Vamsavali, Chikkadevaraja Yashōbhūshana (ಚಿಕ್ಕದೇವರಾಜ ಯಾತ್ರಾಭಾಷಣ), Chikkadevaraja Vamsa Prabhāva (ಚಿಕ್ಕದೇವರಾಜವಂಶಪ್ರಭಾವ)."

Chikkadevaraja Wadiyar died in his 60th year after a glorious reign extending to a period of 31 years and 8 months. He died in the year 1704 full of honor, fame and glory. In his time Mysore expanded almost to its present dimensions and extended even beyond its boundary to the south-east as far as Mannargudi, including Salem and Coimbatore districts. He exerted his utmost to establish a settled form of Government, to organise

all the forces of administration, to secure a steady and consolidated inflow of revenue, to establish towns and commercial centres in Mysore and to initiate a scheme of local self-Government for these towns associating in the task of managing local affairs the influential and responsible private gentlemen. He established an Executive Council and appointed non-official gentlemen to advise him. His military power and martial spirit were equally great. He conquered all the turbulent chiefs and humbled them to submission and by dint of uncommon diplomacy and tact, he built up a kingdom and won a fame that have handed down his name as a great ruler. His charities were numerous, his bequests considerable and his acts of piety multifarious.

He was a great patron of art and literature and some of the most famous of Kannada poets, such as Tirumalārya, Shadaksharideva, Hon-namma, Singarārya, Timmakavi Chikkupādhyāya, flourished in his court and he was no mean poet and writer himself. The versatility of his genius was impressed upon all the departments of State and it would be no exaggeration to assert that "he touched nothing that he did not adorn." He laid the foundation of modern Mysore and transmitted the progressive instinct to the family line with the result that Mysore is what is to-day—a model State, a glorious model State. A statue of this great Maharaja with folded hands is to be found in Gundlupet in the Paravāsudeva temple which he built.

I shall close this brief sketch of an eventful career by quoting a few passages from "Apratimaveera Charita" one of the works of Tirumalārya, the great prime minister and court poet, illustrating the character and qualities of Chikkadevaraja Wadiyar and also his greatness. Although they are tinged with all the wealth and glory of figures of speech, yet they are sufficiently corroborative of the Raja's remarkable power and glory and on that account are full of interest and information and appropriate to the scope of this paper.

" Intelligent and generous ; loving and yet spirited ; well-versed in music and literature ; enthusiastic but prudent ; well-mannered, and well-disciplined, versatile and sweet tempered, dauntless and yet discriminating, intuitive and captivating, the ocean of kindness, the king of kings—Chikkadevaraja shone bright like the moon. (Page 11, verse 32.)

" Unassuming, talented and learned, discreet and tactful, loving, amicable and affectionate, strong and compassionate, Chikkadevaraja
• was great in his virtues. (Page 15, verse 41.)

" Protecting his subjects like a mother, furthering their interests

like a father, and promoting their welfare like Nārāyana, the Divine Being, King Chikkadevaraja ruled in peace. (Page 33, verse 1.)

"The embodiment of the greatness of the lunar race, the personification of the prosperity of the world, the idol of the joy of his House and the very symbol of the happiness and glory of his country and people, Chikkadevaraja, the hero of heroes, extended his beneficent rule over his empire. (Page 50, verse 35.)

"To protect the good, to punish the wicked, to establish and maintain justice (Dharma), King Chikkadevaraja was born in the world. (Page 139, verse 185.)

"Since the mighty Chikkadevaraja by his benevolent rule fulfilled the saying, "The king is the maker of his time," the iron age of his time turned out to be the golden age. (Page 149, verse 12.)

"Always respecting the injunctions of the Vedas (and other ancient sayings), ever doing deeds to the exaltation of his own family name, extending his kingdom by successful conquests with a lion's might and main, earning a name for charity, probity and justice, adding thus to the glory and illustriousness of the Yadava line of kings, Chikkadevaraja, the unequalled hero and world conqueror, ruled his empire trampling the dark forces of the iron age with the weight and might of his righteous, beneficent and efficient sway". (Page 158, verse 23.)"

SIVANANDA'S LIFE OF APPAYYA DIKSHIT.

(By R. SHAMA SHAstry, Esq., B.A., M.R.A.S.)

In the utter dearth of biographical works in Sanskrit literature, Appayya-Dikshita-Charita or Appayya-dikshita's Life by Sivananda, his own disciple, is a welcome beacon light in Sanskrit chronology. This work is a short elegant Sanskrit treatise in verse and prose and an essence of four other elaborate biographical works written by others. The author says at the close of the work that he wrote it at the command of Appayya Dikshita himself. This work is divided into twenty-eight Charitas or leading events, each event consisting of verses and prose-pieces, varying from 5 to 20 in number. The total number of passages comes to 318.

The biographer does not, however, present the picture of his hero in its natural colours. His main ambition is to deify him and he says so distinctly. Accordingly Appayya Dikshita becomes an incarnation of Siva, and many of his deeds are in the view of the biographer supernatural. The visible ascent of the sacrificial victims to Heaven in the Vajapeya Sacrifice performed by the Dikshita, and the appearance of Siva decked with the same dress and ornaments that were thrown into the sacrificial fire by him, are like Ratnaketa Dikshita's exploit of converting a new-moon into a full-moon day, in credible stories. Still making due allowance for such aberrations of thought, a common characteristic of the society of the times, it is not difficult to perceive the part which the Dikshita as a cultured human being of his day played in the history of India. As a class the Pandits of the Dikshita's time were strictly conservative and would not swerve an inch from the course of life chalked out for them in the Sastras, of which they were authoritative interpreters to the kings. The highest esteem in which they were held by both the kings and the people of the time, the titles and paraphernalia of honour which the kings bestowed upon them, and the ascetic or self-denying spirit which they cultivated and practised throughout their lives cannot be regarded as the vain glory of a selfish clique having no influence over the troubled religious and political movements of the times. Their verdict in political disputes seems to have been as conclusive as their decision in religious disputes between Saivites and Vaishnavites. Hence it is that they were respected by kings and people alike. Had not the study of modern sciences so far progressed as to revolutionise the industrial and political conditions of our times, the world would probably have been still under the domination of speculative philosophy. Speculative philosophy has now yielded its place to experimental science. Modern scientists hold the same position in society that the mediæval philosophers held in their own times. The Viceroys of the

Vijayanagar empire, such as Bomma, Narasimha, Chandrasekhara and the like, seem to have required for their own safety the advice of the Dikshita and other scholars no less than their good opinion in public. As a learned scholar the Dikshita has left a number of works on many branches of Sanskrit learning, and, as a religious reformer, he is said to have converted a number of Vaishnavites to Saivism.

The narrative runs as follows :—

There lived in the Brahman village (Agrahara) called 'Adayapala' near Kanchi (Kanjivaram) a famous sacrificer known as Āchchan Dikṣhita, the preceptor of the celebrated Krishnaraya, the Emperor of Vijayanagar. He had eight sons, of whom the fifth called Srirangaraja became the preceptor of Krishnaraya on the death of Āchchan. On the demise of Krishnaraya in 4630 Kali (1528-29 A.D.), Bomma (or Chinna Bomma) succeeded him. Srirangaraja had no issue for a long time and went to Chidambara, leaving king Bomma to the mercy of Madhvacharya and Tatacharya, propagandists of Dvaita and Visishtādvaita philosophies respectively. In 4654 Kali corresponding to Pandava era 4655? to Saka 1475, Vikrama 1410 and Kolla 721? and Krishnaraya era 24, in the year Pramādicha, in the month of Kanya, on Monday, the first day of the dark half of the month, the star being Uttaraproshtapada, in the morning, the Sun and Mercury being in Virgo, Saturn in Capricorn, the moon in Pisces, Rahu and Saturn in Taurus, Jupiter in Sagittarius, Mars in Gemini, Venus in Balance, and Ketu in Scorpion, there was born a son, Appayya Dikshita, to Rangarayadikshita, whose family name was Ganesha. Srirangaraja returned to his own native place and attended to his son's education till his death, when Appayya was only nine years old. At that time king Nrisimha was ruling in Tanjur and Chinna Bomma in Velur, and both selected Appayya Dikshita as their Guru, and made Tatacharya, Appayya's friend, their family-priest. One of the miraculous deeds which the Dikshita performed was the visible journey of the sacrificial victims which, though shedding tears at the time of slaughter in the Vajapeya Sacrifice, took up divine form in virtue of Appayya's prayer and went to heaven to the wonder of all assembled in the sacrificial hall. King Bomma came to the sacrifice with costly presentations and placed himself in the position of an umbrella-bearer to the sacrificer while going to the final ablution at the close of the sacrifice. Poets, such as Bhautika, Sukamukha, Chidambara and others composed elegant verses in praise of this unique sacrifice. Appayya Dikshita was a confirmed Saivite, though he bore no hatred towards Vishnu as the Vaishnavites did and even now do towards Siva. Appayya was by birth, taste and education a follower of the Advaita or Monistic school, according to which there exists only one Entity devoid of all qualities and identical with Eternity,

knowledge and happiness. The world with its creator, protector and varied humanity and Nature is merely a phantom, reflected on the mirror-like surface of Ignorance which, though beginningless, will yet disappear at the dawn of Self-knowledge. Accordingly Siva, Vishnu, Brahma, and other hosts of gods are only fabrications of the mind to explain and establish the order of the phenomenal world; and belief in this hierarchy of gods and their functions is of some use only so long as man is attached to the world with incapacity to realize the true nature of the Self. But Tatacharya belonged to the school of Visishtādvaita, according to which the universe is a combination of god, souls, and matter, god being possessed of all praiseworthy qualities and unlimited intelligence and mercy and what not. Souls on the other hand are of limited knowledge and subject to misery and happiness due to good and bad deeds which they are free to do. With pure knowledge they can realize the nature of the combination and devoting themselves to the performance of good deeds can free themselves from the misery of bondage and birth. Siva and other hosts of gods are the various forms or aspects of the original god, Vishnu, brought out by Vishnu to discharge the various functions, such as creation, protection, and destruction. Siva is a god of destruction, and, as such, his abode is the burial ground. Hence his temple, being a cremation ground, is not fit to be resorted to by the devotees of Vishnu, the Paramount Lord, and the offerings made to him are not to be touched even.

It is this question which divided the people of Appayya's time into two hostile parties and disturbed the peace of the country and court alike. King Bomma became Vaishnavite under the influence of Tatacharya and had to obey him in keeping Siva far away. But Appayya was a profound scholar respected by all: His arguments in favour of the Advaita school were so powerful that Tatacharya could not answer them.

Appayya Dikshita is said to have been a devoted follower of Manivachaka-guru of Vatapuri (Kalahasti). His biographer says that Appayya saw Manivachaka in his dream and learnt from him the secrets of Sivādvaita or Saivite Monism. Meanwhile Tatacharya's influence over Bomma had become so great that at the request of his teacher the latter celebrated a number of charitable marriages, providing the married couples with necessary maintenance. It was a unique spectacle to see Tatacharya's journey from place to place in a palanquin with a white umbrella, with a huge multitude of heralds proclaiming the titles of Tatacharya and with a number of followers having U-shaped marks on their face, arms and the breast. Sivananda attributes Tatacharya's ascendancy in the Court of Bomma to the influence of women at his command, and he says that Appayya declined to accept the invitations of Bomma to go to his Court at Velur.. When, however, Bomma sent his Court Pandits to persuade

Appayya Dikshita to come to his court for the fifth time, he went with a few of his disciples to Velur, with honours quite superior to those bestowed upon Tatacharya. On his arrival at the court, Appayya learnt from the king himself how Tatacharya had made him powerless and how with his titles and paraphernalia he had become a king in effect and how at his bidding the king had to celebrate more than nine thousand marriages of poor Srivaishnava Brahmins, giving each bride gold-jewellery of five palas in weight.

Meanwhile there was an outbreak of deadly fever throughout Velur and the citizens, fearing it to be due to the witch-craft of Tatacharya with a number of wizards with peacock feathers on their heads and hands, came in a body to the palace, requesting the king to take immediate remedial measures against the epidemic by means of witch-craft, prayer and sacrifices. Accordingly at the request of the king Appayya is said to have performed his usual worship of Siva and caused the epidemic to disappear to the wonder of all.

The twelfth incident in the life of Appayya Dikshita is the attempt of Tatacharya at poisoning him through a Vaishnavite Temple-worshipper. The worshipper is said to have added poison to the sacred water given to devotees for sipping in temples and confessed his guilt after a spoonful of that water was given to Appayya. With his thought on Siva, Appayya is said to have drunk that water with no fear and survived its effects to the astonishment of all.

The thirteenth incident consists of a discussion between Appayya and Tatacharya as to whether the remnants of offerings made to God Siya might be partaken of by Vaishnavas. The conclusive reply given by Appayya to this question is that Siva is one of the many names used to designate the Universal One and that, when the whole world is but a manifestation of his own Pinda or morsel of food, there is nothing that is not a remnant of offerings made by his own self to himself.

Still Tatacharya occupied the first seat in the Assembly of Bomma and this gave rise to an unending discussion between the rival parties as to who deserved the first seat. Nothing can be more childish than a discussion as to whether the right hand is more sacred than the left hand, all limbs being of equal importance in being useful to the needs of the body. Still in consequence of immemorial usage different nations are in the habit of regarding some limbs as pure and sacred and others as impure and profane. Thus with the Hindus it is a custom to consider the right hand as sacred and the left as impure. As an outcome of this blind custom, according to which Brahmins are required to utter benedictions on men of lower castes by raising their left arm, it appears that Appayya used to raise his left arm while uttering his benedictions on king Bomma. Tatacharya

saw this opportunity to prejudice the mind of Bomma towards Appayya. In reply to the question of Bomma regarding this objectionable practice, Appayya is said to have stated that the use of the right hand-palm by Brahmins in the act of uttering benedictions on persons of other castes, be they princes or poor, would lead to the ruin of the latter, in as much as fire is said to be residing on that palm. Thus saying he raised his right hand, and to the wonder of all assembled in the hall before the king, that palm was actually in flames and became cooled only after the king and other persons present there offered their prayers to god Agni.

Appayya had eleven sons and two daughters, all married in due time. Once upon a time his eldest daughter in monthly illness asked her father whether she could continue her worship of Siva during the time as on other days. Appayya is said to have told her that mental worship is far superior to external image worship with flowers and other objects and that she might worship Siva in her mind on all occasions with no thought of purity or impurity of her body. Tata heard of this view of Appayya and considering it objectionable asked the king to intervene on his behalf. In reply to the king's question in the assembly regarding this practice Appayya is said to have proclaimed that God Siva would be best pleased with the mental worship of his devotees irrespective of caste, creed, colour, dress, and custom and that pure mind's flowers are all that are necessary for worship, as repeatedly stated in the Vedas and Smritis.

The sixteenth event in the life of Appayya is the attempt of Tatacharya to murder Appayya in his own lodging. Tatacharya is said to have fabricated an order stamped with the royal signet and issued it to the Commander of the army to cut off Appayya's head. In obedience to this order, the Commander mustered a force of about 200 soldiers before Appayya's lodging at dead of night on a fixed day. Neither was the king aware of it nor Appayya Dikshita. Then one of the king's personal attendants approached Appayya and conducted him to the king's bed-chamber. Apprehensive of danger to the king himself, Appayya quietly followed the attendant praying to Siva for the safety of all. The other servants guarding the bed-chamber respectfully cleared away and the king himself, apprehensive of danger came out and inquired of him whether his untimely visit to the bed-chamber was to favour or to admonish the king. "I have no bad thought O king," says the Dikshita, "but in your presence I forget my purpose, just as sages forget their categories of truth in the midst of women. Everything will be clearly known in the morning and I had better return to my lodging. Be, however, wakeful, O king, and take care of your wives, friends, servants, relatives, citizens and the learned." Saying thus, the Dikshita fearlessly departed to

his lodging and sat till day-break. On the morrow no musical band played as usual before the palace ; and both the king and Appayya hesitated to come out from their respective rooms. The king, however, took courage and coming out of the door saw the armed soldiers to his amazement. Quickly treading his way he went into the Dikshita's lodging and asked him why his own palace was surrounded by soldiers in such fearful array. "There is no use," said the Dikshita, "in turning our attention to the mischief of wicked men. I believe that your soldiers are anxious to see you and await your orders to disperse." Then at the command of the king, the Dikshita was taken on the state-palanquin followed by the army in procession throughout the city and was worshipped by the king as a true teacher.

Still the king could not get rid of Tatacharya and was still under his mercy. Coming to know that the Dikshita had an attack of malarial fever twice every week, Tatacharya told the king that he would endanger his personal safety by frequently going to the infectious Dikshita. The king's regard to the Dikshita was however so great that he would on no account renounce him. Once when he saw the powerful tremor of the deer's skin on the Dikshita's body, the king asked of him the cause of the shaking. "Well, my son," said the Dikshita "I am suffering from malarial fever once every four days due to my deeds in past birth. It is impossible for man to escape from the clutches of *karma*." After causing him to suffer for 11 months, the malady disappeared and the Dikshita was once more able to continue his literary activities with vigour.

Then in the four incidents from the nineteenth to the twenty-second in the life of the Dikshita is related his acquaintance with one Ratnakheta kavi and his marriage with the latter's daughter. The Dikshita's biographer narrates a wonderful story of Ratnakheta as follows :—

Ratnakheta's real or family name was Srinivasa Dikshita and he was a poet and a learned man especially in astronomy. Once on a new-moon day he happened to say in the presence of king Chandrasekhara, the paramount over-lord of the kings of Poona, Maharashtra, Marvada, Maithila and Ayodhya that it was a full-moon day. Then in the defence of his own slip of the tongue and to remove the doubt and amazement of the king and his learned men he went at sunset to a tank, and while performing his evening prayer prayed to his Goddess Parvati. Taking the ear-ring given to him by the Goddess, he threw it on the sky and that gem shone like a full-moon on that day to the astonishment of all spectators. Pleased with his miracle and learning, king Chandrasekhara presented him with a Ratnakheta, i. e., a shield inlaid with precious gems, a palanquin and two tusked elephants to carry torches on their tusks day and night before his palanquin during his tours. From that day

he began to be called Ratnakheta-Dikshita. (*) He was so proud of his learning that, when the king asked him for his opinion on Appayya's merits, he said that no learned man of the day would equal him who made a new-moon into a full-moon day and before whom torches on the tusks of elephants constantly burned even during day-time. Five or six days after this event, this Ratnakheta, a native of the village called Tuppalu, went to Kanchi to worship his Goddess Parvati, during the Navaratri. Then in reply to his prayer to the Goddess to enable him to conquer Appayya, the Goddess is said to have told him that Appayya is Siva himself and that Ratnakheta the Goddess herself and that such being the case dispute between them would be to nobody's good. He might, however, give his daughter in marriage to Appayya and receive his obeisance, as a father-in-law does from his son-in-law. Accordingly Ratnakheta's daughter was wedded to Appayya, who had by that time already had two living wives. Though he had three wives, Appayya was a great Yogi and in the words of his biographer it was a unique spectacle to see him sitting long in his Samadhi, or complete concentration of mind.

Notwithstanding the receipt of the frequent rich presentations from both Bomma and Nrisimha, Appayya was no better than a poor man; and Tatacharya missed no opportunity to advise the king to discontinue his showers on such a barren soil as Appayya. Meanwhile the Dikshita went to Kalahasti to perform a sacrifice there on a large scale. Both kings Bomma and Nrisimha went thither with rich presentations to witness the sacrifice. The rite was performed in all its details and to the wonder of all spectators inclusive of the kings, God Siva is said to have shown himself decked with the same gold cloths and ornaments that had been presented by the kings to the Dikshita before.

The twenty-fourth incident in the life of the Dikshita is the loss of his Siva-linga which he daily worshipped, identifying it or rather Siva's presence in it as his own soul. Tatacharya was believed to have robbed him of it through his Muhammadan hirelings. The Dikshita would eat nothing till the image was recovered. Nor would his wives, children, disciples and other followers touch food till its recovery. Thus a day or two passed by and the Dikshita narrated his sincere grief to king Bomma who came to him to ascertain the truth. While telling the king of the irreparable loss, the Dikshita appealed to Siva, calling upon him to put an end to the life of the robber of his image. To the wonder of all there was an outburst of a heavy thunder-storm, and struck by lightning Tatacharya breathed his last. The news spread throughout the city like a lightning flash and the Dikshita went at once to the tank and plunging therein offered a handful of water for the

* Bhaishmparinaya is a literary work attributed to him.

departed soul. Immediately the followers of Tatacharya, gave back the Linga to the Dikshita. On the death of Tatacharya, Appayya Dikshita proceeded with the work of reconstructing the society and reconverted a number of Vaishnavas to Saivism. The *prāyaschitta* or expiation prescribed by the Dikshita for the apostates consisted in the repetition of Siva's name, eight or four or two thousand times a day till the total number amounted to 125,000. It was at this time that in the interests of Saivism and Advaita philosophy he wrote 104 treatises in Sanskrit. A few of his works enumerated by the biographer are :—

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Sivatattvaviveka | 10. Brahmataktastotra | 18. Siddhantalesasangraha |
| 2. Sivakarnamrita | 11. Ramayanatatparyasan-
graha. | 19. Madhvamataviddhvamsa |
| 3. Sivadhyana padbhuti | 12. Bharathatatparyasangraha | 20. Vidhirasayana |
| 4. Sivarachanchandrika | 13. Varadarajastotra | 21. Ratnatrayapariksha |
| 5. Sivadvaitanirnaya | 14. Kuvalayananda | 22. Nyayarakshanani |
| 6. Bhasmavadavalli | 15. Chitramimamsa | 23. Srikanthabhashya |
| 7. Adityaratnastotra | 16. Parimala | 24. Smritimatasara |
| 8. Manasollasa | 17. Chaturmatasarasangraha | 25. Nakshatravadavali, etc. |
| 9. Atmarpana | | |

While with these and other learned works the Dikshita was entertaining king Narasimha of Tanjur, Gauda scholars of the north of India sent to him some intricate problems for solution. The Dikshita sent his reply expressed in elegant and choice words and supported by powerful and unimaginable arguments. The northerners could not comprehend its meaning and wrote in reply that "brave are the southerners at the outset" (Arambasurah khalu dakshinatyah). Then with his Nakshatra Vadavali the Dikshita satisfied the northerners. In reply to their invitation to come to Benares, the most sacred spot on earth, on pilgrimage, the Dikshita wrote that "the place where peace reigns, where the king is a true politician, where the people are virtuous and conscious of Self, is, verily, the sacred place ; and provided the mental tendency is productive of good, my own place can by all means prove Benares ; and provided that the Real is omnipresent, why should It not emancipate us here ? Still in view of realizing self-satisfaction in the company of the learned, I have gladly accepted your kind invitation and shall soon be in your midst." Thus sending a letter in reply, he took leave of kings Bomma and Narasimha, his friends, relatives and servants, and proceeded to Benares and after having lived there for sometime and having received the honour of being carried on a palanquin by the Pandits in procession, returned to Velur to the great pleasure of kings Chinna Bomma and Narasimha and his relatives and friends. He was fifty years of age at the time, then lived for ten years in his own native place, and in Chidambara for twelve years more. When in his seventy-third year the time for his departure to the other world in Kailasa approached, he called his twelve sons and advised them to adhere to the righteous path in the acquisition of gold, land,

precious gems and the like, and having given the youngest son, Nilakantha by name, the Linga and taught him a sacred mantra, told the eleven elders to rear and educate the young boy with fatherly regard. He predicted that he would in time become the prime minister of the king of the Pandya country. The sons replied in duty bound that they would be virtuous and divide the property equally among themselves.

Then speaking in half a Sanskrit verse in Vasantatilaka "There gleams in our mind the bright dawn-like splendour of the lotus feet of Siva in dance in the golden Dancing Hall," the great soul of the selected Appayya or Ganesa Dikshita passed to peace at day-break on the full-moon day of the month Chitra (March-April.)

His disciples repeated the other half of the verse as:—

"Verily has the night of ignorance, i.e., the life in the world infested with the fierce goblin called Death, come to its close."

Then Nilakantha, only twelve years' old at the time, left the house after twelve days, and having completed his education abroad, became the prime minister to the king of the Pandya country.

**Genealogical Table of Appayya Dikshita as given by Nilakantha Dikshita
in the Nilavilasa, a drama :—**

Achchan Dikshita, preceptor of Krishnaraya of
Vijayanagara 1503—1529 A. D.

Sons

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Srirangarajadhvani, author of Advaitamakaranda

Appayyadikshita 1530—1603

Contemporaries

- (1) King Bomma of Velur
- (2) „ Narasimha of Tanjur
- (3) Tatacharya
- (4) Samarapungava, a poet
- (5) Jagannathapandita, son of Balakrishna,
prime minister to the king of Tanjur.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

Achchan Dikshita

Son not named

Narayananadvani, author of
Sahityaratnakara

Achchan

Nilakantha, author of (1) Nilakantha Vijaya,
(2) Nilavilasa, drama.

BHASA'S SVAPNA VASAVADATTA

(BY K. RAMAPISHAROTHI, ESQ., M.A.)

ACT V.

(*Then Enter Padminika.*)

Padminika—Madhurike, Madhurike, come on quick.

(*Entering.*)

Madhurika—Hallo ! Here I am ; what do you want ?

Padminika—Friend, don't you know that our dear Princess, Padmavati, is troubled with head-ache.

Madhurika—What a pity !

Padminika—Go you quick and inform Lady Avanti, simply tell her of our mistress' head-ache. Then she will herself come.

Madhurika—But what can she do ?

Padminika—She will engage her in pleasant talk and thus relieve her pain.

Madhurika—All right. But where have you spread her bed ?

Padminika—It is arranged in the 'Samudra Grha'. Go now. I shall search out Vasantaka to inform our lord.

Madhurika—As you say.

(*Exit.*)

Padminika—Where can I see Vasantaka ?

(*Enter Vasantaka.*)

Viduṣaka—The most happy auspicious festivities are in full swing. Yet this marriage of Padmavati has only served to fan the fire of Cupid in Vatsaraya, to make him pine the more for his lost dear one. (Seeing Padminika) What, Padminika, why are you here ?

Padminika—Sir, did you not hear that our lady, Padmavati, is suffering from head-ache.

Viduṣaka—Really I do not know it.

Padminika—Please inform our lord of this. In the meantime, I shall hasten to fetch some cure for it.

Viduṣaka—Where is Padmavati now ?

Padminika—The bed is prepared for her in ' Samudra Grha'.

Viduṣaka—Go. And I shall let my master know of it.

(*Exit both.*)

(*Then enter the King.*)

King—I had been fortunate enough to become in time the husband of her, that charming and becoming daughter of the King of Avanti. The beauty of that form has been robbed by. Fire and now I think of her who is like the lotus pond killed by frost.

Viduṣaka—Hasten, my lord, hasten.

King—Why?

Viduṣaka—Her ladyship, Padmavati, is troubled with head-ache.

King—Who told you?

Viduṣaka—Padminika told me.

King—Alas!

My sorrow has been to some extent dulled by getting her who is both handsome and virtuous; I who am stricken,

With a sad calamity and who have suffered, now anticipate the same for Padmavati also.

Where is Padmavati now?

Viduṣaka—A bed has been prepared for her in the Samudra Gṛha.

King—Then, lead me there.

Viduṣaka—Come on, Come on my lord.

(Both walk about.)

Viduṣaka—This is *Samudra Gṛha*. Please to enter.

King—You enter first.

Viduṣaka—All right (entering) but wait, my lord, wait.

King—Wherfore?

Viduṣaka—There is a serpent, seen in the light of the lamp, moving on the floor.

King—(Entering, seeing, and smiling.)

Pity the fool's idea of a snake. "Thou, O fool, takest for a serpent the little, curved flowery wreath, fallen down from the door. Moved to and fro by the gentle breeze, this faintly imitates a serpent in darkness.

Viduṣaka—What, my lord, says is true. It is no serpent. (Entering and looking.) Padmavati must have come here and gone.

King—Friend, she cannot have come.

Viduṣaka—How do you know it?

King—What is there to know? See.

The bed is not pressed down; the bed cover is unruffled and is as even as it was when spread. The pillow is untouched and is not spoiled by the cures applied the fore-head. (Further), the room has not been made charming to the eyes to divert the attention of the sick. (Lastly) when people who are ill retire to bed, they do not soon leave the bed of their own accord.

Viduṣaka—Indeed then rest here on this bed for a while awaiting her ladyship.

King—Good, (sitting down) Friend, I am sleepy. Go on tell me a story.

• Viduṣaka—I shall tell; but then you must follow me with a 'hem'.

King—Agreed.

Viduṣaka—There is a town, named Ujjani. There are indeed many charming baths there.

King—How Ujjani?

Viduṣaka—if you don't like this, I shall tell another.

King—Friend, not that I don't like this; but,

'This reminds me of those tears of the Princess of Avanti, when about to leave, those loving tears falling on my chest, those sweet drops hanging on her lashes, as she thought of her people.'

Further—'Of her who used to glance at me from under her lashes during her lessons, while her hands made some random sounds with loosened fiddle stick.'

Viduṣaka—Well, I shall tell another. There is a town named Brahmadatta. There reigned a king named Kampilya.

King—What is it, what is it?

Viduṣaka—(Again repeats it.)

King—Fool, the king is Brahmadatta, and the town Kampilya.

Viduṣaka—Is the king named Brahmadatta and the City Kampilya?

King—Yes, it is so.

Viduṣaka—Wait a moment. Let my tongue familiarize itself with it. The king named Brahmadatta and the city named Kampilya (repeats it many times). Now listen. Why, you are already asleep. It is very cold. Let me go and fetch my blanket.

(Exit.)

(Vasavadatta in the guise of an Avanti Lady and the maid enter).

Maid—Approach lady. The head-ache really gives her much pain.

Vasavadatta—What a pity! Where does she lie?

Maid—She is in the Samudra Gṛha.

Vasavadatta—All right, walk before.

(Both walk about.)

Maid—This is Samudra Gṛha. You may enter. Meanwhile I shall go and get the cures.

(Exit.)

Vasavadatta—Alas, Fates are cruel to me. Even this Padmavati who is the haven of rest for my lord pining away under the pain of bereavement is unwell. I shall enter. (Entering and seeing) O, the carelessness of the maids! They leave her to herself all alone with a light, this sick Padmavati. She is asleep. I shall sit here. If I take a separate seat that will show want of affection. So I shall sit on her bed. (Sitting down) why is it that, on sitting here with her, my heart throbs with pleasure. She is breathing steadily. So she must be all right. Her lying to a side of the bed shows that I must embrace her. All right I shall lie down. (The sleeping King dreams) 'Ah

Vāsavadatta! (Vasavadatta rising up quick) What my lord and not Padmavati! Hope I am not seen! To recognize one another would mean that all the great work of Yougandharayana is to be futile, (dreaming) "O my Princess of Avanti!" Thank God my Lord is dreaming, and here there is none. I shall stay here for a while and thus gladden my eyes and heart (dreaming) "O my blood, my dear pupil, why don't you reply me?" O my husband! I shall speak (dreaming) "Are you displeased?" No, no, I am only sorry (dreaming) "If not displeased why without any toilet? Why, what more is needed? (dreaming) "Do you remember Virichika?" (offended) Off with it. Virichika even here? (dreaming) "For the sake of that I appease you" (extends his hand) I have stayed enough. Somebody may see me, I shall go. But I shall just raise this hanging arm of my lord and put it on bed. (Having done that, exit.)

King (suddenly rising up)—Dear Vasavadatta, please stop, stop. O fie, going out in haste, I struck against the door, hence I cannot say for certain whether it is a fact or desire of the heart.

(Enter *Viduṣaka*.)

Viduṣaka—Why, are you awake?

King—Friend, pleasant news, Vasavadatta is alive.

Viduṣaka—Vasavadatta is dead. Whence Vasavadatta? She is long dead.

King—No my friend, it is not so.

' Me lying asleep on the bed she awoke and then went away. Rumanvan has deceived me in saying she is burned.'

Viduṣaka—Alas, this is an impossibility. I see, the talk of Ujjani baths made you think of her and you dreamt of her.

King—Do you think I have been dreaming? If that has been a dream, then it is bliss not to have been awakened. If it is confusion of mind, then let this confusion continue.

Viduṣaka—Make not, make not yourself an object of laughter. Further, in this court lives a Yakṣin, the beauty of Avanti; perhaps you might have seen her.

King—No, no.

' Awaking at the end of my sleep I saw her face with eyes devoid of collyrium, and her locks loosely hanging and ever keeping herself pure.'

Further, see, see my friend ' That same hand which has been pressed by that wife (of mine) with nervousness does not leave the pulsation even though the contact arose in sleep.'

Viduṣaka—Don't you have any thought of the impossible, come on, let us enter the quadrangle.

(Entering.)

Kanchukeya—Long live my lord! Our Royal Highness Darsaka sends

this message to your worthy honour. "Your worthy minister Rumanvan has started with a large army to subjugate Aruṇi, my glorious army of elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers are ready to start." Hence up my lord. Further.

'Your enemies are broken up and thy faithful citizens are relieved. This rear guard (remains here) to escort your Highness. What is possible for the destruction of your enemy I have done. Also our armies have crossed the Ganges and the kingdom of the Vatsas is in your hands.'

King—Very well.

'Approaching I shall destroy Aruṇi clever at cruel deeds in battle which resembles an ocean having for its terrible waves the scatter of arrows and (is to be crossed over) in the big boat of elephants and horses.'

(All retire.)

END OF ACT V.

NOTES.

The incidents narrated in the last act must have taken place, as we have pointed out, towards noon. This scene it is clear must have taken place towards the close of the evening. Now the question arises as to how much time must have elapsed between the last scene and this. We are inclined to believe that the incidents narrated in this act must have taken place the very same day. We find that in the first place the King had made no more improvements in the affections of his heart. He is yet ruefully mourning over the loss of his first wife Vasavadatta. Secondly we find Padmavati suffering from head-ache, and this enables us to fix the period. This head-ache might probably have been caused by her wandering about in the hot sun in the garden or probably by her intense grief because her lord was grieving so much for Vasavadatta. She must have been thinking how she could relieve the King's sufferings. These thoughts and the heat worked upon her and so towards nightfall we find her down on her pillow with head-ache. If we take such a point of view then the interval between the two acts is only a matter of hours; i.e., they must have taken place the same day, one towards noon and the other evening or rather the early stages of night for there is mention made of light.

The scene opens with the entrance of the maids who convey the news that Padmavati is ill. One would be justified to think that the scene would have some intimate connection with the illness. But this is not so for this is but a make believe incident. Our dramatist makes use of this only as a contrivance to bring together Vasavadatta and the King. Under this pretence the poet makes both resort to the same place. Vasavadatta on arrival finds the King sleeping. With this introduction we shall proceed to the main scene.

The King is again introduced to us as the despondent and aggrieved lover. The new marriage, its festivities, its pleasures, these have only served to fan his love for his lost wife. Whenever he has a moment for himself he has Vasavadatta in his mind. We have seen how Viduṣaka was trying his best to turn his mind to the present reality. But yet he could produce only a momentary diversion.

The incident of the snake is, we are of opinion, purposely introduced to banish from the King's mind the image of Vasavadatta. They reach the place but they miss Padmavati. The King sympathizes with her illness and awaits her arrival. But his thoughts again take a turn for it goes back to Vasavadatta. The time is such that the loss is felt doubly keen, and the poignancy of the sorrow becomes too insufferable. Hence he requests his friend to tell a story. The story has an unfortunate beginning and the King again lapses back to his old days. Viduṣaka changes the story, but the King steeped in the sweet memories of the past soon sinks into sleep. Finding the King thus, Viduṣaka also goes inside to take a nap as it were. Thus the King is left to himself in the trembling rays of a flickering light, and Vasavadatta reigns supreme in his heart.

At this stage Vasavadatta comes on the stage. She is happy enough we should think; for what does a woman want except the whole-hearted devotion and love which survives even death? We should think nothing can be greater to woman, and for the sake of such a love womankind will suffer anything, brave anything. The knowledge of such a love will invest them with a strength and fixity of purpose which nothing can change. To learn of the existence of such a love in secret, while it is being revealed to a confidential friend, well, this is the sweetest pill that can ever be administered to a lady. Vasavadatta was in such a frame of mind. She was the happiest of the happy. She has realized it and no wonder she can feel for Padmavati. That she is greatly strengthened and ennobled by this knowledge is made clear by the way in which she behaves towards the king even at that moment of supreme felicity and happiness which 'wifedom' can ever hope to enjoy. She clearly knows that one false step on her part would shake down all the plans of Yougandharayana, her own airy castles and the future prosperity of the King. She knows this and is determined that she would do nothing which would defeat the purpose of her faithful Minister. For herself she is not sorry to live thus for is she not fed with that food on which alone can the fair sex live! She is sorry for the king but she is buoyant that she would see him soon again as her lover. Thus she approaches Samudra Gṛha.

- She reaches this place. What she says, as she enters, is quite befitting to herself. She values Padmavati more as the haven of rest for the

King and she is sorry that even this will increase the King's grief. Her words show what a noble lady can say when she is justly indignant. She is very angry with the maids for having left Padmavati, as she thinks, to herself. She approaches the bed and the regular breathing tells her that the occupant of the bed was soundly sleeping, which is a symptom of relief. She lies down and embraces the reclining figure.

Austere critics would maintain that this is carrying even poetic probability too far. But we cannot find our way to support this view. In the first place we have seen that Vasavadatta's mind is so full of King Udayana, and Padmavati that she is almost incapable of being too minute. The place was solitary and remote from the royal quarters. She need not fear any interruption on the part of the King. Thirdly there is but a feeble light. So unhesitatingly and without even a shadow of doubt she takes her place by the side of her suffering friend. Again as soon as she enters the room, she hears the welcome sound of regular breathing. This would only set at rest what little curiosity she might have had to examine her. Hence she boldly sits down and begins to indulge in her sweet and not unpleasant thoughts. And we are indeed of opinion that there is no violation of probability. Instead of finding fault with the author, this is, we should think, one of the successes of dramatic art—this mingling and harmonizing of what is apparently improbable but really possible and natural. It is attempts, such as these, that beget true poetry.

From the point of view of the scene itself, we are inclined to think that this is one of the triumphs of dramatic art. Where else can you find so much of love so harmoniously mingled with pathos? These are not characterized by the usual Indian excess and are relieved by the positive back-ground of due decorum. There is the lady occupying the same bed with her lover, who is raving for his loss of her. She would not be tempted, strong though the temptation was. The beauties of the scene are almost indescribable for the more we think of it, the greater is the pleasure it yields.

There is manifested Vasavadatta's keen sense of feminine modesty coupled with an implicit faith in the words of Yougandharayana. She waits there only for a moment to snatch a lingering glance at her suffering lord. She dares not answer him or console him and submissively enough retires. And none too soon the dreaming, raving lord and lover awakens only to find all his bliss a dream or a shadow. He is half certain that there was somebody and that it was Vasavadatta but soon realizes the cruelty of fate. Half certain and half in doubt he bewails his lost one. His friend Vasantaka soon joins him and pities the king.

Had they been left to themselves we could not say how long they would

have talked about this. It would not have been proper, if they had themselves shifted from this subject. There is only one other topic that the King could seriously listen to and that is about his kingdom. So the introduction of the message from his father-in-law at this stage has been especially appropriate. The news awakens the King and he bestirs himself. The lover is to lie asleep and the soldier wakes up; and with a promise of what he would do the scene closes.

In conclusion, we have only to remark that this is one of the finest scenes in our dramatic literature. There is the silent love matched only by firm faith and sweet delicacy. There is the raving love harnessed by a thousand dreamy doubts. And both so harmoniously combined together! The love of the King and Queen are similar yet different. There is the same intensity in both cases but that of the Queen is checked by a happy sense of modesty. The love of one lives on firm faith but that of other is distressed by many vague doubts. The combination of these two types of love will produce the surest domestic bliss and no wonder the King bemoans her loss so much,

The Drama is named after this scene. This would take probably an hour and two and so the scene must have been over before the close of the early stages of nightfall.

ACT VI

(Then Enter Kānchukēya.)

Kānchukēya—Hallo, who is there? No one at the ornamented gate-way?

(Enter Pratihari.)

Pratihari—Sire I am Vijaya. What do you want me for?

Kānchukēya—Madam, inform the King Udayana whose fortunes are rising by the acquisition of the country of Vatsas—'Here is arrived from Mahasena, his staff bearer, named Raibhya, and Vasundhara, the nurse of Vasavadatta, from Queen Angaravati.' They are waiting at the door.

Pratihari—Sir, this is no time or place for it.

Kānchukēya—Why not?

Pratihari—Please sire, somebody sounded a note on a Vina in front of our quarters. Hearing this our lord said, 'This appears to be the sound of Ghoṣavati'.

Kānchukēya—Then?

Pratihari—Then he went there and inquired, where did you get this from? He said, 'we found it among the creepers on the banks of Narbuda. If you want it, you may take it'. He received it and placing it on his lap he swooned away? Coming round, he said with his face swollen with tears, 'Thou Ghoṣavati, thou art seen, but her I don't.

This, sire, is not proper time, How can I tell him that.

Kāñchukēya—Madam, inform him. This also has something to do with it.

Pratihari—Well. I shall inform. He is descending from his palace. I shall speak to him even now.

Kāñchukēya—Thanks, lady.

(Both retire.)

(Then enter King and Viduṣaka.)

King—O sweet-noted violin, how after having lain in the lap and on the breasts of her hast thou managed to live the dreaded life in the forest covered all over with dust scattered by the flight of birds!

'O Ghoṣavati, thou art heartless for you do not remember your unfortunate mistress and of those fond strokes on your sides as you lay on her lap, those pleasing embraces between her perspiring breasts, those wailings for my absent self, those words and smiles during the intervals of music.

Viduṣaka—Enough, enough of this excessive sorrow.

King—Not so, my friend.

"This violin has awakened my love which has been till now asleep; but her to whom this Ghoṣavati is dear, I don't see." Friend take it to the artisan and soon get this 'Ghoṣavati' repaired.

Viduṣaka—As you please my lord.

(Receives the instrument and retires).

(Enter.)

Pratihari—Success to my lord. Here is at the door from Mahasena his staff-bearer, named Raibhya, and from the queen Angaravathi, Vasundara, the nurse of Vasavadatta.

King—Then call Padmavati.

Pratihari—As you command.

(Retire.)

King—What, so soon has Mahasena heard the news.

(Enter Padmavati and her maids).

Pratihari—Approach, approach, princess.

Padmavati—Success to my lord.

King—Padmavati, do you know that these are come from Mahasena his staff-bearer, named Raibhya, and from Queen Angaravati, Vasundara, Vasavadatta's nurse and that they are waiting at the door?

Padmavati—My lord, it is very pleasing to me to hear of the welfare of my relatives.

King—What you said is quite proper to yourself—that Vasavadatta's people are your own. Padmavati, take your seat. Why, don't you sit down?

Padmavati—Is it that my lord should be seen sitting with me?

King—What harm is there?

Padmavati—As my lord's second wife, it will show some neglect ?

King—Great evil will arise by keeping off introducing to one's wife a person who should be introduced to her. Therefore take your seat.

Padmavati—As my lord desires ; (sits down) my lord I am anxious about what the father and mother will say ?

King—Thus it is, Padmavati.

' My heart is trembling as to what they will say ? ' I stole away their daughter and then did not protect her. The fickle fortune has shattered my manly virtues and I am as like a child who has angered its parent.

Padmavati—That Kanchukeya and nurse are waiting at the door.

King—Bring them in quickly.

Padmavati—As my lord commands (exit) ?

(Then enter Kanchukeya, the nurse and Pratihari.)

Kanchukeya—All hail !

Arrived here at the court of the relative my joy is extreme but again I am sad when I remember the loss of the King's daughter. O God, what more have you yet to do, if the kingdom is conquered by enemies and the welfare of the Queen is destroyed.

Pratihari—Here is the Prince—Approach, Sir.

Kanchukeyi—(approaching him) success to my lord.

Nurse—Success to my lord.

King—(Honouring him) Sir.

' He whose friendship I have courted and who is the lord of the rise and fall of kingdoms in this world, that king (I hope), is doing well ?

Kanchukeya—Yes. King Mahasena is doing well and he inquiries the welfare of all here.

King—(Rising up) what may be his command ?

Kanchukeya—This is quite befitting the son of the king of the Vidēhas. Indeed your Highness must hear the message sitting.

King—As it pleases Mahasena (sits down).

Kanchukeya—Fortunately, your kingdom that has been taken by your enemies is recaptured. Really who are cowards and incapables are devoid of adventure and generally by those alone who are adventurous is enjoyed the happiness of Royalty.

King—All this is due to king Mahasena's prowess. For, ' first I was defeated (and taken prisoner) and then dangled with his own children. I eloped with his daughter and then did not protect her. He has heard of her loss and yet he has for me the same friendship. And now this king was the cause of my getting back my country of the Vatsas.'

Kānchunkeya—This is king Mahasena's message. The Queen's message this worthy lady will convey.

King—Worthy Madame.

'The pious lady, my mother, the eldest of the king's sixteen wives, and the Goddess of the city as it were, who is so pained on account of my exile, is doing well ?

Dhātri—She is keeping good health and inquires after your welfare.

King—It is all well here. Mother happy thus—.

Dhātri—Enough, my lord, enough of thy sorrow.

Kānchukeya—Remember, my lord ; though dead, the daughter of Mahasena lives, since you pine for her so. Why,

'who can save whom when death is at hand ? Who can save the water-pot when the rope is broken ? Really the world is like a forest. At the proper time, it is felled down and it grows again.'

King—Not so, Sir, not so.

How can I not think of her, though encased in another body, of her, the daughter of Mahasena, my pupil, my Queen, my beloved ?

Dhātri—The Queen says : Vasavadatta is dead. You were first desired both by Mahasena and myself for our son-in-law, and were to us both like (our son) Gopala. For this purpose were you brought to Ujjain. She was given you though not in the presence of Agni, at least through the medium of the Viṇa. And, owing to your own foolishness, you left us before the celebration of the marriage. We then had your portraits painted on boards and conducted the ceremony. I now send the portrait to you. Console yourself by looking at it.'

King—Alas, what affection, and how befitting and pleasing this her speech.

'This speech is a hundred times more pleasant than the acquisition of (my) Kingdom, for she does not forget her love for me who am guilty.'

Padmavati—My lord, I wish to see her painting and to pay my homage.

Dhātri—Look, princess look.

(Shows her the portrait.)

Padmavati—(after looking, to herself) Hem, she bears a great resemblance to the lady of Avanti ; (aloud) My Lord, is this like her ?

King—Not like her but it is herself. "How could this lustrous complexion have that terrible end." How can such sweetness of face be destroyed by Agni ?'

Padmavati—By looking at My lord's painting I can know whether this is like her or no.

Dhātri—Behold, princess, behold.

Padmavati—Since my lord's painting is exact, I understand this must also be exactly like her.

King—How is it, my lady, that I find you increasingly glad and pensive after your seeing the paintings ? What is it ?

Padmavati—Here, my lord, lives a lady resembling the figure in the portrait.

King—Vasavadatta?

Padmavati—Yes.

King—Then let her be brought here at once.

Padmavati—My lord, in my virgin days there came a Brahmin and entrusted her to my care, saying she was his sister. Living alone without her husband, she avoids the sight of other men. You may, therefore, observe her while in my company.

King—"If she is the Brahmin's sister, she must surely be somebody else. In this world there are many instances of likenesses between persons."

(Enter.)

Pratihari—Long live, my lord! From Ujjani is come that Brahmin who has entrusted his sister to my lady. He is awaiting to reclaim her.

King—Padmavati, is it the same Brahmin?

Padmavati—It must be.

King—Welcome him with all the formalities proper in a harem.

Pratihari—As my lord commands.

(Exit.)

King—Padmavati, go you also and fetch her.

Padmavati—As my lord desires.

(Exit.)

(Then enter Yougandharayana and Pratihari)

(Yougandharayana to himself).

Deeming it necessary for the King's good, I have concealed the Queen and done this, as I pleased. My plans have succeeded; yet my heart is tossed in doubt as to what the King would say.

Pratihari—Here is my lord. Approach, Sire.

Yougandharayana—Success, lord, success.

King (to himself)—The sound appears to be familiar. (Aloud). Is it your sister that you have entrusted Padmavati with?

Yougandharayana—Yes.

King—Let this sister be hastened.

Pratihari—As my lord commands. (Exit.)

(Then enter Padmavati, Vasavadatta in the guise of Avantika and Pratihari).

Padmavati—Come on, Madame come on. This is some good news.

Vasavadatta—Why, what is it?

Padmavati—Your brother is come.

Vasavadatta—Thank god, he remembers me even now.

Padmavati—All hail, my lord ! This is the protégé.

King—Padmavati, the pledge is to be fulfilled before witnesses. This worthy Sire, Raibhiya, and this madame, let these be the witnesses.

Padmavati—Madame, this is that lady.

Dhatri—(Observing her) Hallo, this is my princess Vasavadatta.

King—What the daughter of king Mahasena ? My Queen, go in with Padmavati.

Yougandharayana—No, you must not. That is my sister.

King—What do you say ? This is indeed the daughter of Mahasena.

Yougandharayana—O king.

'Thou, O king, born of the race of Bharatas, pure, modest, and learned and the model of royal virtues, thou, O king, dost not deserve to forcibly detain her.'

King—All right then ; let me examine her resemblance. Take off the veil.

Yougandharayana—All success to my lord !

Vāsavadatta—Success to my lord !

King—What this is Yougandharāyana and this is the daughter of Mahasena (embracing both) 'Is it real that I see her again, or is it only a dream ? Then also it was thus that I was deceived by her whom I saw.'

Yougandharāyana—My lord, great is my crime in removing the Queen. My lord will kindly excuse me (falls at his feet).

King—(raising him). Are you not Yougandharayana ? By pretending to be mad, by fighting, with learned counsels, by these your efforts, are we who are drowning brought upwards.

Yougandharayana—We follow your greatness.

Padmavati—(to herself), And this is that lady ! (aloud) Madame, by treating you as a friend, I have violated good breeding and I apologize myself by falling at your feet (prostrate before her).

Vāsavadatta—(raising Padmavati). Arise, arise, my lady, arise. This is no crime to me. You were treating a refugee.

Padmavati—I am blessed.

King—Friend Yougandharayana, what was your object in removing my wife!

Yougandharayana—It was that I rule alone over Kausāmbi.

King—Then, why did you entrust her to Padmavati?

Yougandharayana—Royal Astrologers, Puṣpaka and Badraka, predicted that she will become your Queen.

King—And Rumanvan also knows that ?

Yougandharayana—Everybody knows it.

King—Alas, he is a rogue.

Yougandharayana—My lord, let the worthy sire Raibhya, and the worthy madame be instantly sent back to convey the news of the welfare of the Queen.

King—All of us shall go there with my Queen and Padmavati.

Yougandharayana—As my lord commands.

(Bharata Vākyam)

Let the King of Kings reign over us, bringing under his single flag this ocean girdled earth ringed with the Himalayas and the Vindhya.

END OF ACT VI.

NOTES.

The interval between the last scene and this is rather indeterminate. For one thing the incidents narrated in this act do not take place the very next day; but yet they do not come after a long interval. In the first place no further successes have been announced and, when we remember the nature of war in those old days we can come to the conclusion that no large interval separates the two acts. All the same the king has, as he himself tells us, got over the effects of that thrilling night. A period say, of two or three days as the interval will not be too much nor too little.

This act, we may remark, stands as the key for the whole period of time after the union of the King and Padmavati. It cannot be but more than a fortnight. For the news has just reached Ujjani, and the deputy they have sent to congratulate him has just arrived. Again Yougandharayana's object in removing Vasavadatta was simply to make the King marry Padmavati. Now that this had been done, there was not reason enough for him to continue under the veil. It is time that he throws off the mask for there has already begun a series of campaigns. True it is they are conducted under his own orders; but his personal influence counts for not a little. This also necessitates his public appearance. But the question may be asked why he did not announce himself just after the marriage. The answer is simple enough. He was afraid that the King might do something rash. That is nothing short of duping Darsaka, and, instead of being a friend, he may turn round. So he allows a *period* of time to pass over, a period sufficient enough for all to calm down their passions. Probably also with the revival of Vasavadatta in the first stage, he may repudiate Padmavati and that would mean the upsetting of the ministers' long cherished plans and ambitions. It is necessary also to give some time to enable the King to learn the true worth of Padmavati. Again it may be the policy of Yougandharayana to grease the marriage knot with a sense of gratitude. In that case he has necessarily to wait till Darsaka sends an army to help Udayana. And in the last act it has already been announced that the first step has been

taken. Hence Yougandharayana is assured that nothing serious will happen. And from the little hints we get here and there we are inclined to think that the interval must be about two weeks.

The influence of the dream is beginning to pass away and the King has begun to live in the reality of the present. But as fate would have it what should he hear but the sweet notes of his famous violin, Ghoṣavati, a sound that could not be mistaken. He instantaneously gives orders to bring it to him and so it is brought uncared for and neglected though it has not yet lost the sweetness of its music. Naturally this revives all the memories of the past and he is once again thrown back into the whirlpool of sorrow and misery. His sorrow knows no bounds and he becomes a raving maniac and makes some sweet addresses to the instrument. He recalls in piteous tones the blissful memories of the past and those melting strains evidently tell us the great anguish of his heart.

From the point of view of construction, this is but a necessity; otherwise this work of reuion will be too strong. And herein lies the art of the dramatist. He brings up at every step something or other and it is his art that makes their appearance so very natural. Here then our author prepares the King for the union. Till now he has only been playing with her name, but now he gets something tangible, something of hers, a something which formed this link of love.

The next stage of the scene is also in the same vein. The poet is bent upon preparing all for the crowning reunion. Besides this the poet makes use of this scene to complete the characterization of Padmavati. Note for instance the short talk between the King and Padmavati after the announcement of the ambassadors. From the point of view of characterization, this is indeed very important. Modesty, humility, feminine delicacy, these form the natural ornaments of the fair sex. To convey these not by self-assertion but allowing these to flow out as it were, this is the art of a genius. These qualities to which is added the milk of human sympathy,—these are enough to make any character the loveliest. The sweet words that Padmavati gives expression to, and that so unassumingly, endear her to the King more than her loving sympathy. She is quite artless and marked by a sweet delicacy. The noble doubt whether it is proper to sit with her lord to receive the ambassadors from the parents of Vasavadatta speaks volumes in her favour. The king overcomes her doubt and, unwillingly enough, she sits down beside the King and awaits anxiously the message of Mahasena.

The usual formalities being over, Kanchukeya delivers the message that Udayana's Kingdom has been reconquered. The message of the Queen was nothing other than the presentation of the portrait painting of

Vasavadatta and of the king himself. Now Padmavati desirous of paying homage to her illustrious predecessor, requests permission to do so and she sees the portrait. This is the turning point of the whole scene. She finds herself quite familiar with the painted figure for the resemblance between this and her lady of Avanti is striking and unmistakable and before she could indulge in solving the mystery she wants to make sure if the figure painted exactly resembles Vasavadatta. When she is assured of that, she falls to thinking and is soon so much absorbed in it that she becomes more or less convinced ; but yet she cannot be sure. Naturally enough she is both glad and sorry ; glad that probably Vasavadatta was living and sorry that under her roof she has not treated her in way befitting her position. Her mind becomes a prey to varied emotions and since she is quite artless her face bespeaks her mind. The king shrewdly notes it and inquires of her why she is pensive. The king however does not feel overglad at the reply for such a thing is more or less impossible and so he suggests the one way of unravelling the mystery that is possible under the circumstances and that is to bring the lady to the royal presence. From the point of view of denouement, this method has been supremely happy. The pleasing duty of taking off the Veil of Vasavadatta, as far as it lies in her power, falls to the lot of Padmavati. She is as before, the lucky star of Udayana. But, as she narrates the circumstances connected with this lady, the King gives up all his hope. At this critical moment, who should make his appearance but Yougandharayana ? We are inclined to think that he must have known the business of the envoys and the shrewd and politic minister is sharp enough to realize that his announcement could no longer be delayed.

The lady is soon brought and Yougandharayana in the part of Brahmin first puts forth some objections to delay the revelation. But soon he announces himself and with that the King once more gets Vasavadatta. And all are united in blissful, happy reunion. What the feelings of Vasavadatta must have been is left to the imagination ; no pen can do adequate justice to her and even our poet leaves her to herself and her sweet thoughts.

The last stage in the denouement has been extremely happy and the construction throughout has been very dramatic. There is a naturalness about it ; the final unravelling of the plot comes off quite naturally, circumstances driving each personage to the same thing and it is here in the naturalness of the whole thing that our dramatist shows himself at his best.

END OF SWAPNA VASAVADATTA.

KAUTILYA AND KALIDASA.

(By H. A. SHAH, Esq., B.A.)

(Continued from Vol. XI, No. I, P. 61.)

III.

Further consideration of parallels will be resumed in the next article. In the present one, we discuss other dates which have a bearing on the date of Kauṭilya and Kālidāsa. They are :—

- (A) Date of Vātsyāyana—The author of the Kāmasūtra. (Benares edition).
- (B) Date of Patanjali —The author of the Mahābhāshya.
- (C) Date of Vātsyāyana—The author of the Bhāshya on the Nyāya-sūtras of Gautama. (Calcutta, third edition, 1911).

Authenticity of "Kauṭilyam" is involved in these considerations.

It is proposed to discuss herein the arguments—taken up severally and conjointly—contained chiefly in the following :—

- (1) "Early History of Deccan" by Dr. Bhandarkar.—(1895).
- (2) "Vātsyāyana; Author of the Nyāyabhāshya" by Dr. Satis Chandra (in I. A., April 1915).
- (3) "A Note on the Supposed Identity of Vātsyāyana and Kauṭilya" by R. Shama Sastry, Esq. (in Q. J. M. S., April 1917).
- (4) Presidential Address of Dr. Bhandarkar (in the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919). Proceedings : Vol. I, pp. 24-25.
- (5) Miscellaneous Journals.

(A)To begin with the date of Kāmasūtra. Dr. Bhandarkar says in the "Early History" :—

"In Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra or Institutes of Love, Kuntala Sāta-karṇi Sātavāhana is spoken of as having killed Malayavatī, who is called Mahādevī, and consequently must have been his chief queen, by means of a pair of scissors* in connection with certain amorous sports. (Note) The same Kuntala occurs in the list given in the Matsya Purāṇa. (Note—Prof. Aufrecht's quotation in the Oxf. Cat., p. 217b., does not contain the name 'Malayavatī', and he supplies 'gaṇikā' from the preceding clause; but a gaṇikā or a courtesan cannot be called 'Mahādevi.')"

The passage of the Kāmasūtra, P. 149, II, 7, 2, 28 is—

"कर्त्तयौ कुन्तलः शातकणिः शातवाहनो महादेवो मलयवतीं (जघान) ॥

* Not so: the sense is a different one. Cf. commentary on 'कर्ती', on Sūtra 3rd, on p. 148, of Kāma., II, 7, 2.

[To cite commentary on it,

“ कुन्तलविषये जातत्वाचत्तस्मात्यः । शातकर्णिः शतकर्णस्यापत्यम् । शतवाहन इति यस्य संशा ”]

Dr. Bhandarkar repeats here what he wrote early in 1884 in his first edition. Hence the identification of the Sātavāhana mentioned above with the twelfth king of the Purānic list ('कुन्तल स्वातिकर्ण'—मत्स्य, ch. 273, 7), dates as early as or earlier than 1884. It should be noted that, at that time and long after it, scholars were unaware of the existence of the Arthaśāstra. It was natural therefore that they assigned a very low date (3rd or 4th century) to the Kāmasūtra, proceeding upon this stray piece of 'evidence' against the lexicographers who identified its author with Chāṇakya (*alias* Kauṭilya), thus putting the work early in the reign of the Maurya king Chandragupta. The proper course for them was to have awaited the discovery of a work of this period. However, even after Arthaśāstra came to light in 1908, they have not revised their judgment!

With due deference to the authorities concerned, we find that the identification of Sātavāhana with the one of Purānic list is unwarranted, and even to-day, it remains unsupported.

We do not know that the twelfth king in question had a queen called 'Malayavatī'. Again, the name of the king in the above passage of the Kāmasūtra is not a *Proper* name because,

'Kuntala' is a geographical term,

'Sātakarṇi' is a generic term, and

'Sātavāhana' is a designation of his family (*cf.* 'सातवाहनकुलयशापतिष्ठपनकरस' in the Nasik Cave Inscription of 19th year of Pulumayi).

There is thus no reason to believe that a Sātavāhana Sātakarṇi, who ruled in *Kuntala*, was the only king who ever ruled over it. It is found from the reference of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (circa 500 B.C.—*Cf.* Rapson's "Catalogue of the Coins of Āndhra Dynasty," Introd., P. xv) that the Āndhras were flourishing as early as 500 B.C. The edicts of Aśoka also bear testimony to the existence of the Āndhra empire in his days. Hence, it is reasonable to suppose that Śiśuka (the first Āndhra king in the Purānic list) had many predecessors whose number or years we do not know. *The Satakarṇi of the Kāmasūtra may well be one of that unknown list.*

The lexicographers, amongst whom Hemachandra is included, appear to be right in their assertion that Vātsyāyana is an another name of Kauṭilya. If we compare the two works, Kāmasūtra and the Arthaśāstra, we perceive their correctness. The reader may well go over the passages Mr. Sastry has selected from both the works in his introductions (pp. xi-xiii) of the Arthaśāstra. The style, the method of study and of dialectic, the searching intellect and the general outlook reveal an unmistakable intellectual affinity between

the two works. Kāmasūtra seems to have been written earlier than the Arthasāstra as it is less intricate and less subtle than the Arthasāstra. The latter exhibits greater skill in its discussions and more systematic arrangement of ideas and chapters.

It would be interesting to note what Dr. Peterson said in Oct. 1891, when reading his paper "On the Duties of a Hindu Wife" before the Anthropological Society of Bombay: He pointed out therein that 'Kālidāsa quotes Vātsyāyana *verbally*.' Later on, writing on the 'Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana' (in the J.B.B.R.A.S., 1890—94, Vol. XVIII, P. 109ff), he said:—

" It can be shown that the book, (*i.e.*, Kāmasūtra) as we have it now
 " was known to Bhavabhūti, who flourished at the end of the seventh
 " century, and that he makes constant references to it in his Mālati-
 " mādhava.".....Further, says Dr. Peterson, " I will only say in
 " passing that I hope on some future occasion to show that what is
 " true of Bhavabhūti, is true of his great predecessor Kālidāsa. If
 " that is so, a vista of antiquity opens up for our book. For it is
 " certain now that Kālidāsa must be put earlier than has lately been
 " very generally supposed. He stands near the beginning of our
 " era, if indeed he does not overtop it, and dates from the year one
 " of Vikrama Era."

To-day, we are treading upon different ground!

(B).....To appreciate the arguments regarding Vātsyāyana, the author of the Nyāyahāshya, we should first clear up the date of Patanjali.

It is known well to literary students how Dr. Bhandarkar won distinction for his disquisition on the now well-known passage " इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामाः " The tense in this illustration of Patanjali showed, in his opinion, that he did live at a time when he was either a witness (young or old) to the sacrifice of Pushyamitra or that he was near enough to it, in point of time, to be able to speak about it in this tense. Hence the date of Pushyamitra is the date of Patanjali.

Now we differ. The date of Pushyamitra is not so low as it is put in circa. 185 B.C. Regarding his *true* date the reader is referred to what is said in our first article on page 313 (Q.J.M.S., July 1920). According to our humble calculations, the correct date is about half a century earlier than the date of Chandragupta Maurya. Tradition makes Patanjali contemporary (perhaps an elder one) of Chandragupta. This popular contention is significant enough if we remember another illustration of Patanjali— " पुष्यमित्रसभा, चन्द्रगुप्तसभा ",—wherein, if sequence can mean anything in such cases, Pushyamitra is cited first while Chandragupta stands second.

Another illustration of his *viz.*, " मौर्यैऽहरण्याधिभिरचाः प्रिकाल्पताः "—is also re-

markable in the fact that 'मौर्यः' can be taken to refer to a sect of Mauryas. "Mauryaputra" was the name of one of several Brāhmins who had controversy with Vardhamāna Mahāvīra (cf. *Mahāvīracharitam* by Hemachandra in his *Trishashti*, Vol. X).

The lower limit to the date of the *Bhāshya* of Patanjali is given by the *Nyāyabhāshya* which quotes the illustration of the *Bhāshya*, "Ten pomegranates.....etc." cf., I. A., April 1914, pp. 83-84. It may be noted also that the *Kāmasūtra* refers to (opinions of) Gonardiya and Goṇikāputra which names are synonymous with Patanjali according to lexicons.

The change in the date of Pushyamitra completely alters the case and leads to a right construction of the ancient chronology of India, as remarked in the first article (*ibid.*, pp. 313-14.). [Of course, questions of chronology will be dealt with, as told therein, in a separate article.] In the present case, the change affects the date of Patanjali and thus completely disproves the objections of Mr. Shama Sastry raised in his article referred to in the beginning of this paper.

(C) According to this learned scholar, the author of the *Nyāyabhāshya*, Vātsyāyana is later than Kauṭilya because of his acquaintance with Pāṇini's Grammar (*ibid.*, p. 213), with 'Sāṅkhya', 'Yoga' and 'Dwaita' Philosophy (*ibid.*, p. 214) and of his knowledge of Mimāmsā Sūtras of Jaimini (*ibid.*, p. 214).

The व्याकरणमहाभाष्य by Patanjali composed in the days of Chandragupta, completely subverts these arguments. It may be urged that the determining of a period for the rise of several such systems (Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Dwaita, etc.), has been done early by European Scholars who knew nothing of the Arthaśāstra, and who drew inspiration mostly from the Greek culture. Hence, the period of their rise and growth remains still problematical.

Dr. Satis Chandra, who does not believe in the identity of the two Vātsyāyanās, explains away the nomenclature as follows:—"The Jain Hemachandra, in his *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, mentions together the authors "of the Arthaśāstra, the *Kāmasūtra* and the *Nyāyabhāshya* probably because "they all belong to the same clan..." (I. A., April, 1915, p. 87.)

The learned doctor has not preferred to bring together passages from the two works either for a comparison or for a contrast. However, Hemachandra herein has not introduced us with names of *clans* as a work on "Gotra" would do. He has dealt with *synonyms*. Hence, the identity given in the lexicons cannot be so lightly brushed aside.

He urges that the *Bhāshya* on *Nyāyadarśana* by Vātsyāyana is posterior to Nāgārjuna and to the *Lankāvatārasūtra* (*ibid.*, pp. 84-86). Indeed, we claim little authority in matters of Nyāya and Grammar. But still, there

are suspicious looks which compel us to state what we find. We do so with all respect due to the scholars: our arguments may be taken for what they are worth. They remain open to correction.

In instituting comparisons, he has referred only to the sūtras *with which Vātsyāyana has nothing to do!* He is not prepared to assert the period (450 A.D.) for the sūtras which he lays down for the Bhāshya itself! Again, there is no reason to fall back on the supposition of wholesale interpolations in a Sūtra work of this type.

It is strange to find that because a Sūtra covers arguments which a later author repeats, discusses or advances, the Sūtra and the Bhāshya on it are taken to be posterior to that author. As a rule, it is a process, in Nyāya to conjure up all objections and in the same breath to deal with them by allaying them. Hence the determination either of priority or of posteriority in such cases is an impossibility, especially, when in works on technical subjects of this type, it is not unusual to repeat clauses and paragraphs of predecessors without least acknowledgment. Therefore, what the late Doctor has told us cannot be made a plank for the lower date of Vātsyāyana.

Now we take up the arguments of Dr. Bhandarkar. He has, it seems, noticed this weak point and has urged in his address (referred to in the beginning of this paper) a later date for *all* the Sūtras! (It is the 'Sātakarani' of Kāmasūtra who misleads him). Again, he construes, curiously enough, some of the passages of the Arthaśāstra to yield an untoward sense! He cites the verse,

“येन शास्त्रं च शास्त्रं च नन्दराजगता च भूः ।

अमर्योद्गृतान्वाशु तेन शास्त्रमिदं कृतम् ॥

After translating “च” of the first line by “or,” (in his *original* address) he calmly proposes to take by ‘येन’ and ‘तेन’ *two different* individuals!

We do not think that the use of ‘येन’ and ‘तेन’ can ever allow us to take such a sense. ‘येन’ covers up everything that can be said of the person till the occurrence of ‘तेन’, the latter taking with itself the whole passage (beginning with ‘येन’) to complete the sense. It is moreover impossible to imagine, as it is put there by him that somebody else conceived the Arthaśāstra and developed it only in his conception while all that of which was transplanted as words, sentences, chapters, criticism, etc., by somebody else, *after* several centuries!!!

Moreover, the first ‘शास्त्र’ refers to the *previous* ‘शास्त्र’. The second refers to the present one. Similar is the case of the term “अपदेश”! The ‘Tantrayukti’ is not meant for the author himself but for his *reader in whose eyes all are ‘others.’* Hence, the illustration of that term, including even the

"इति कौटिल्यः" affects in no way the question of authorship or of authenticity.

With reference to the connotations of the term 'आन्वीक्षिकी', we urge that the differences, if there be any, are natural because अर्थशास्त्र and न्यायशास्त्र are different subjects; and not because that they proceed from one or different persons. In the same way, the sense and significance of the term 'अर्थ' changes in its usage in the अर्थशास्त्र and in the कामसूत्र without in the least affecting the question of authorship.

With regard to his statement about Sātakarṇi and Kāmasūtra, we remind the reader of what is urged in the beginning of this article.

To refer to other arguments: much has been said about the authenticity of the Arthaśāstra from its passages on pp. 6 (6), "आन्वीक्षिकी अर्थी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति विद्याः" ; and on pp. 17(20),

"न स्वेव कुर्यादरमानं देवीं वा लक्ष्मीधरः ।

शांच्छेत्तरमाल्यानामेतत्कौटिल्यदर्शनम् ॥

The first passage on 'four Vidyās' (we shall see that Kālidāsa also refers to four *vidyās*) stands as a general announcement of the subject (in that chapter on विद्यासमुद्देश) preparatory to the discussion. Without enumerating all the Vidyās at the very start, it is impossible to point out the differences of several views. Hence the finale "चतुर्व्युष्टिं एव विद्या इति कौटिल्यः" need not be understood to refer to a Kauṭilya who has not written the first sentence "आन्वीक्षिकी, etc."

Regarding the second passage: It is in a *verse*. 'एतत्' would naturally refer to somebody else than the author. It is *not* so in this case, because the preceding *verse* embodies the opinion of Āchāryas ("एत्याचार्यी व्यवस्थिताः").* Kauṭilya differing from them expresses his own view as usual,—*here*, in a *verse*. The occurrence of words 'एतत्' and 'दर्शन' is a pure contingency of metre because laconic "इति कौटिल्यः" is impossible in versification and 'मत्' or another word cannot finish the *verse*. Hence, by 'दर्शन' one should not take "a school" of Kauṭilya.

To turn again to the criticism of Mr. Shama Sastry with regard to the Bhāshya of Vātsyāyana : (Q.J.M.S., April 1917, pp. 212-13; and 214215-16).

It is a rule, as it were with Naiyāyikas, seldom to mention or refer to authors when they cite passages from works of others. In this case, where the authors are one and the same, this rule does hold good. It well explains the occurrence of passages on 'Tantrayukti' and on 'Vākya.' Even this second passage, though our acquaintance with it extends through the Arthaśāstra only, may well have an older origin.

* The whole of this sixth chapter, from the beginning down till this verse, embodies the promulgations of Achāryas.

Re: “विद्योदये प्रकाशिता”—Bhāshya I, 1, 1. It means: “Extolled in the chapter on Vidyās.” Here, the author refers evidently to *his own* work. He cannot refer to a *chapter* of another author, but either to the author himself or to his *entire* work. Hence, the altered verse (as Mr. Sastry sees it well as an alternative) rightly indicates that the term was so defined by the author himself.

It has been urged that Yaśodhara, the commentator on the Kāmasūtra, nowhere urges the identity of Vātsyāyana and Kauṭilya and that it would not be the case if it were not a fact.

Indeed, there is no reason why one should go out of his way to mention the nomenclature of an author. It may be expected of a *modern* scholar burthened with the task of rescuing from oblivion what little his might can; but why should it be expected of old authors who looked more to sense than to individuality or name?

Kāmasūtra of ‘Mallanāga’ is known well as it may be judged from what Subandhu says in his Vāsavadattā. That name being in vogue, the commentator elucidates it only when he comes across the word ‘Vātsyāyana.’ His business is to explain to the reader both the ‘*terms*’ rather than give synonyms after the fashion of a lexicon. He is at no pains to acquaint the reader with his personality. He explains the sense of the word that occurs and then goes on as usual. Hence, his non-reference cannot be made much of either for his particular belief or for his ignorance.

With regard to description of customs, people, language or grammar, in the two works of one author, following considerations may well be taken into account.

The Arthaśāstra is after all a *compendium* (“संहल एकमिदं अर्थशास्त्रं कृतं”). Hence, usages of old terms and old grammar of previous works stand in spite of the advanced times of the later work. Again, our notions of priority and posteriority change with the change of dates and choronology. They are not hard and fast. Besides, the Arthaśāstra is concerned with *details* of administration wherein ‘मन्वन्तर’ s may be safely put aside. It has no concern with customs or people if they are not involved in its considerations of Politics. Moreover, kingdoms and administrations underwent changes in olden times even when society (and the circumstances which surrounded it) remained unaltered. Therefore the work pertaining to habits of society keeps up a freshness which is out of place in a work on administration. Kāmasūtra could be drawn upon advantageously for the pleasure of audience by Bhavabhūti after several centuries; it cannot be the case with the Arthaśāstra and a later author.

Hence, parallels from customs, grammar, descriptions or references

to systems, such as Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Dwaita or Lokāyatika are not an absolute necessity for the identity of highly technical works of the type of the Arthaśāstra, Kāmasūtra and Nyāyabhāṣya.

Dogmatisms about Astronomy and Astrology need proofs for our acceptance. Their early inception cannot hold water. Cogent argument for them lies only in the stubborn belief in originality and superiority of Greek culture. Therefore, they can be neglected for the present.

So far, several conflicting arguments have been considered. We find that lexicons are right in identifying authors of Kāmasūtra, Arthaśāstra, and the Nyāyabhāṣya. The three works represent, as it were, discussions on three classical divisions of human activities, viz., 'Kāma,' 'Artha,' and 'Moksha.' We shall see how the works of Kālidāsa form an unity in idea with them.

(To be continued)

A PLEA FOR A PREHISTORIC SURVEY OF INDIA.

BY C. HAYAVADANA RAO, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

(*A paper read before the Mythic Society.*)

IN this paper I propose to approach the question of a scientific prehistoric survey of India from the point of view of Ethnology as it relates to India. In drawing prominent attention to this subject, it is my desire in the first instance to urge the importance of such a survey. The days are long gone by when people were content to begin the history of India with the invasion of Alexander or even with the times of the Rig Veda. That view of the commencement of Indian History has been—at least deserves to be—given up as completely as the other one which began the history of the world from the Mosaic deluge or the history of England from the time its primitive inhabitants came first into conflict with the Romans. Inductive reasoning has had full sway during the past fifty years or so and the part played by a systematic study of paleontology, geology, and prehistoric archaeology has added to our knowledge of the past so much that it has practically revolutionized all our previous knowledge of the world's early history. In this work of elucidating the primitive art and civilization originating among the prehistoric races of Europe were the archaeologists and geologists of Denmark and Sweden "who, from their geographical position, were happily freed from the confusing element of classical prejudices and were compelled to seek in other than Roman sources an origin for the abundant traces of metallurgic art."¹ These were followed by zealous British coadjutors, who took the hint and freed themselves from the trammels which had so long narrowed their aim; the remains of primitive art were referred to true sources, or at least arranged under an intelligent system of chronological sequence; and thus the desultory and often misdirected labours of the antiquary have given place to researches characterized by scientific accuracy. The system of primitive archaeology thus evolved has since been modified and carried out into ampler details, as the fruit of more extended discoveries, chiefly effected in France and England. The work has been carried on most vigorously in America and possibly the only country in which it is still in its infancy is India. It is necessary that systematic attention should be paid to it in the coming years, if we are not to lose still further the remains that have come down to us from ancient times. That such a survey is necessary whether from the point of view of ethnology or of archaeology few will be disposed to doubt. Where historic ethnology

1. Daniel Wilson in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, II., 334.

begins and where prehistoric ethnology ends, it is hardly possible to say, as the one imperceptibly merges with the other. The first of these, historic ethnology, deals with researches into the origin, the filiation, the customs and institutions of wild and barbarian tribes still existing or of whom we have authentic records; the second one, prehistoric ethnology deals with researches into the early condition of man, founded not on positive testimony but on deductions. This division is, as I have just remarked, however, more apparent than real. The two sections cannot be treated apart because so few or incomplete are the vestiges of prehistoric man that they cannot furnish a basis for sound theories unless these remains are studied in the light of the knowledge which we possess of tribes existing in the non-civilized state, and who thus form the connecting link between historic and prehistoric man.¹ Anthropological research in India has gone forward with some vigour during the past twenty years but the results so far achieved show that much remains still to be done, before we can state with certainty about either the origins, the advent or the filiation of the various races that inhabit India. The study of the existing animistic tribes has thrown us back into times far anterior to them. How far could these, if at all, be reckoned the representatives of the still older races whose remains have come down to us? Are the races who were responsible for these still existent or are they extinct? Such are some of the questions that arise for solution when we take up the subject of the prehistoric remains scattered all over India.

The importance of a survey of the kind I am now urging cannot be made more intelligible than by a reference to its probable results on anthropological researches carried on in Southern India for some years now. Southern India has been for many centuries now peopled by a variety of races. These races have by constant miscegenation got intermixed so much that it has been found difficult, even after some years of patient scientific research, to differentiate them. Their study, though of engrossing interest, is beset with many difficulties. Foremost amongst these is the paucity of material from which general deductions may be drawn. Though earnest workers in the field of South Indian Ethnology have been by no means rare, especially during the past decade or two, yet they have been far too few considering the field they have had to cover. Valuable as their researches have been, they cannot be said to have either exhausted the ground or given the final quietus to the many debatable questions that their investigations have raised. The material, even such as it is, has a value all its own. It has, for instance, enabled us to dispel something of the great doubt and uncertainty that once prevailed as regards the origins of the races that have contributed to make up the present popula-

1. *Ibid.*

tion of India. This population is as heterogeneous as may well be imagined. It is made up of racial types which have since prehistoric times got superimposed one over the other. The work of unravelling this tangled web has been one of immense difficulty, but it has, to a certain extent, been successfully tackled with. The earliest races of which any traces have been found are connected with the prehistoric remains that are to be found widely scattered all over India. These remains are closely connected with the old sites, both residential and sepulchral, which are found scattered throughout the length and breadth of India. A prehistoric survey on scientific lines of Southern India is still a desideratum, and what such a survey could accomplish may be imagined from the fact that these sites have been studied only in the most casual way by a handful of itinerating officials, with other and more pressing duties of their own.¹ The Indian Archaeological department has in recent years wisely conserved these sites, but their systematic survey has still to be undertaken. Such a survey, if accomplished, would furnish, as Mr. R. Bruce Foote, F. G. S., pointed out long ago, much larger data than yet exist as to the distribution over the southernmost districts of the Peninsula of the palaeolithic people whose remains in the shape of chipped stone implements have been found in so many localities in the Karnatic and the Deccan plateau, embedded in Pleistocene deposits. It would also help very much to bridge over the hiatus in time which now exists between the era of those very rude people and that of the neolithic tribes which followed them in the same country. Such work would also incidentally help to find the evidence as to the quarter from which the Dravidian tribes entered the peninsula, still a problem of great ethnological interest. Then, again, such a survey would enable us to answer the very interesting question: were the first Dravidian immigrants who settled in Southern India in a neolithic stage of culture? Or must the polished people be considered as Pre-Dravidian? If, as Bruce Foote suggests, the question be answered in the latter way, a fresh immigration must be postulated by which the true Dravidians reached their present country. If the answer affirms the former proposition, the idea of a further immigration may be dispensed with, for the early iron people appear to be the direct descendants of the neolithic tribes and the ancestors of the present inhabitants.² The evidence thus far gathered supports the latter inference. It also indicates that Southern India had at least three ages of culture. First, the Palaeolithic Age to which belong the earliest

1. *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India* et passim.

Bruce Foote's *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities*, Vols. I, II (1914).

2. Bruce Foote's *Prehistoric Antiquities* Vol. VII, (1901).

See also Bruce Foote's *Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities*, Vol. I and II (1914).

known remains of human industry represented by implements prepared by chipping only, to an edge or point, stones of suitable size and great hardness. The tools which were used for such chipping were other stones of convenient shape. Only a few implements of this age have been discovered. So far the discoveries have come mainly from the districts round Madras, *viz.*, Chingleput, North Arcot and Nellore and a few from Bellary and H.I.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions. Though the collection made is numerically small, it contains some choice specimens of several types of the chipped implements, which have been figured by Mr. Foote in his Catalogue.¹ The very rude people who made these implements were succeeded in their country, long after them, by a set of people who belonged to the next stage of culture, the Neolithic. These are represented by implements and weapons, in much greater variety of form and material, made by chipping and subsequently grinding and polishing suitably hard and tough stones. The art of making pottery had been discovered as also that of drilling stone and other hard materials. The tools used in preparing implements, both warlike and industrial, were still predominantly stone ones. High class specimens of this age are very few, and only one is figured by Mr. Bruce Foote in his Catalogue.—(Plate vi, No. 176). This is due not so much to the want of sites connected with the people of this Age but to the want of careful exploration of the country. Southern Deccan is particularly rich in them and the specimens now housed in the Madras Museum have come mainly from the Shevaroy Hills in the Salem District, Peacock Hill in the Bellary District, and Sirvanur in the Trichinopoly. On the summit of the Peacock Hill, Mr. Bruce Foote found many evidences of the former settlements of neolithic man, in the shape of terraces rivetted with rough stone walls, near which were great accumulations of pottery, bones of bovine animals, tanks made by damming streams, and shallow troughs hollowed out in the rocks, which were apparently used for crushing corn. He also discovered stone celts in all stages of manufacture, chipped, ground, and polished, and flakes struck off them during the process of fabrication.

After the neolithic tribes, came the iron people. These were probably the direct descendants of the neolithic tribes, and are the ancestors of the present Dravidian tribes of the south. In the age to which these people belonged, stone implements were almost entirely displaced by iron ones, the art of iron smelting having been discovered, and the use of iron implements having from their intrinsic superiority and the far greater facility of their manufacture, spread very rapidly. Wheel-made pottery had also come into general use and many other metals besides iron had begun to be worked. The arts generally now made great advances. The finds belonging to this

1. *Ibid.* Plates I and II.

age cover a wide field and come from many distant parts of Southern India. In fact so far as Southern India is concerned, it may be stated generally that remains of this age may be found almost in any tract of country. They are usually connected with prehistoric burial grounds, such as stone circles, cairns, cromlechs, barrows, kistavæns, etc. Among those places where these have been traced, and even opened in certain cases, are the following: Nilgiris, Travancore, Malabar, Cochin, Tinnevelley, Madura, Palni Hills, Coimbatore, Salem, North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput, Bangalore, Coorg, Anantapur, Bellary and Kurnool. Most of these have been opened either by District Officers, Missionaries, Railway Engineers or officers connected with the Geological or Survey of India Departments. Several of these have done very useful work, though in some instances of an amateur kind, and the little that we know of the prehistoric peoples is largely due to their disinterested labours. Amongst the most systematic of these workers was J. W. Brecks, who was Commissioner of the Nilgiris in the sixties of last century. The results of his researches were posthumously published by his widow, in 1871, under the title of "Primitive Tribes of the Nilgiris" with excellent plates. This work is still a standard authority on the prehistoric remains of the Nilgiris and the tribes living on them. The Breck's Collection is now preserved in the Madras Museum and it is, as Mr. Bruce Foote rightly observes, "the gem of the prehistoric series." The bulk of this series consists of pottery, amongst which are many unique forms, quite unlike anything as yet known from other parts of Southern India. Much of our present knowledge of this age—the iron age—is based on a study of this series and of the remains found in other parts of Southern India by other officers as detailed above. What follows is but a bare outline, of the study as made by Mr. Bruce Foote, whose knowledge of this subject was quite unrivalled in this part of India. Among the most striking objects of the pottery series are tall jars, many-storied cylinders of varying diameters with round or conical bases fashioned to rest upon pottery ring-stands or to be struck into soft soil like the amphoræ of classical times. These jars were surmounted by domed lids, sometimes infitting but mostly projecting over the edges of the jars they covered. On these lids stood or sat figures of the most varied kind of men or animals much more rarely of inanimate objects, but all modelled in the rudest or most grotesque style imaginable. Rude and ugly as these figures are, yet those representing men and women are of supreme interest because of the light they throw upon the stage of civilization their makers had attained to; they tell us of the fashion of the garments they wore, the ornaments they adorned themselves with, and the arms or implements they used or carried. Many figures of their domestic animals, especially their buffaloes and sheep, are

decorated with garlands and bells, and show much ornamentation. The decoration of buffalo horns seems to have engaged their particular attention, judging from the many specimens unearthed. Amongst the domestic animals they possessed or were acquainted with were the following: Buffalo, cow, sheep, horse or pony, camel, elephant, dog (cocktailed), pig (?) and goat. They appear to have known several wild animals as well, and prominent among these were: The leopard, sambar, doe and the bustard. They also probably knew the tiger, bear, bison, monkey, jungle fowl, snakes, cobras and hamadryas. They might have also known many more but probably they took too little interest in them for the potters to represent them or what is more likely they for some superstitious reason or other avoided as food sources. At any rate there are many animals not represented by the iron age potters which ordinarily one might have expected them to figure. Thus, with the sole exception of the peacock, none of the birds which figure so prominently in the later Hindu mythological sculptures occur among the clay figurines. There are no hawks, eagles, vultures, parrots or swans nor any tortoises or fish, all of which are so frequently to be met with in later Hindu sculpture. Among the arms borne by these people were short-handed axes, swords, daggers and maces. Of spears, there is no positive evidence. The same is the case with the bow and the arrow, though the existence of both at a somewhat later age, if not then, is amply proven by the finding of many iron arrow-heads in the graves. From the figurines the inference has been drawn that the people of this age wore very scanty clothing. On their bodies no clothes are shown except waist cloth worn quite narrow. This is in marked contrast with the habits of the people of the times represented on the Sanchi type. "There can be no doubt," says Mr. Bruce Foote, "that the costumes of the people represented by the figurines is much more archaic than that of the Sanchi type people, which were worn more than two thousand years ago, and that fact of itself throws back the ages of the figurines themselves probably many centuries and gives great probabilities to the assumption that the art of iron-smelting and working became known in India fully three thousand years ago, if not more. If so, the antiquity of the neolithic remains, both implements and sites, may be regarded as in many cases very much higher." Men and women appear to have worn head dresses of various shapes mostly peaked caps with the peaked summit hanging forward more or less. Necklaces, with or without pendants, are common; also elaborate cross belts both fore and aft. Garlands are also equally common and these hang down fore or aft. Bracelets, armlets and anklets are also to be seen on many figures. Some bracelets were apparently elaborately made, and if made of metal must

have been heavy. On several figures are markings, which Mr. Bruce Foote thinks "may be regarded as painting or more probably tatooing." The men wore their beards clipped rather short, but they were apparently of thick growth. Many curious types of domestic and other articles that they used have been unearthed. Among these may be mentioned lotahs—one, a prototype of the present day lotah and the other specially remarkable for its conical protuberances "mamelons" or "paps" shown on one side—which recall the like decoration in parts of some of the owl-faced terracotta vases discovered by Schliemann in his fourth City of Ilios; tall-necked, many-ringed or storied, round-bottomed chatties; vessels of unique patterns, some highly ornamented and elaborately finished; many types of bowls; different kinds of vases, one of these, a rather squat-shaped, one is peculiar to Travancore; libation cups; seed boxes used in sowing grain and other small seeds, etc. Writing of the tall vases found in many places, Mr. Bruce Foote remarks: "There is in some of the South Indian antique pottery, especially the tall vases, a certain resemblance to Egyptian, Greek and Etruscan ceramic vases, and some unquestionably show forms of elegance and beauty, but they fall short, mostly in some respects of good proportion or finish, of the perfection of the classical forms. The two principal points of difference are the almost entire absence in the Indian types of handles and spouts which the western types show in such great variety of forms and exceeding elegance. The reason for this absence of those pleasing accessories may probably be found in the originally inferior quality of the clay used, in the insufficient preparation it underwent and very largely in the very insufficient firing the pottery generally was subjected to. This necessarily resulted in the production of a ware greatly deficient in tenacity and strength so that tall and delicate looped handles were an impossibility and therefore not attempted by the Indian potters of early days."

These old folk buried the relics of their dead in sepulchral urns and it is from a study of these urns that we know anything at all of them. These urns are buried in stone circles, cromlechs and mounds so widely scattered over the country. The Buddhist chaityas were probably a later development of these prehistoric memorials raised for the dead. The sculptured cromlechs and kistavæns found on the Nilgiris probably belong to a later date. However this may be, in the true prehistoric grave the funeral urns are found low down in the graves. These are usually low flattish vessels, with or without covers as the case may be. They have been known to contain a few burnt bones with fine black or brown mould in which are found small gold ornaments, bronze and iron rings, beads of glass or agate, small cowries with perforated backs, etc. In other vessels of this flattened type were found by Greeks, in

certain Nilgiri graves, the beautiful bronze vases and bowls which, as Bruce Foote justly remarks, form the gems of the whole collection. Remarking on these vessels Bruce Foote says: "The bronze vessels are so elegant in shape in many cases that it is difficult to believe they were produced in India, for they present much more resemblance to Græco-Egyptian Art Works. This is specially the case with regard to the beautiful vase, the ornamentation of which with lotus and delicate flutings is in excellent taste. No such delicacy of outline or detailed ornament is met with in early Buddhist carving, such for example as that in the Sanchi type figured by General Maisey". With these bronze vessels were also found various weapons and domestic implements, spears, javelins, arrow heads, razors, sickles, shears and tweezers. Those made of iron were found completely oxidized but some made of bronze were better preserved but none of these are now to be found in the Greek's Collection.

An interesting question arises here for determination but the paucity of materials, due to want of organized research in the field of prehistoric archæology, makes us pause before we generalize to any extent. Has Palæolithic man any representatives still left in Southern India? Or to vary the question, can any of the existing South Indian type be traced to him? This is a tempting question but there are hardly any materials to answer it directly. The prehistoric remains hitherto unearthed have yielded few human skeletons to judge aright the type to which prehistoric man belonged. Even where these remains have been found it is difficult to assign it to its real age. Parts of human skulls found by Mr. Rea, formerly Superintendent of Archæology in Madras, have been assigned to the Iron Age. The erection of stone circles and cromlechs is still practised by some of the primitive tribes of Southern India, so that the age of such erections is in many cases highly doubtful. Genuine prehistoric sites have not so far yielded human skeletons and this has largely stood in the way of the determination of this particularly interesting point. But there are certain considerations that might lead us to infer that some at least of the wild tribes that we meet with in the impenetrable jungles and hills of Southern India may be racially traced to primitive man of palæolithic times. If the Dravidian of to-day is the descendant of the Neolithic man of prehistoric times, there is at least the possibility that the pre-Dravidians represented by the jungle and hill tribes just mentioned above are the descendants of the Palæolithic man who had to make room before his rising Neolithic successor. Recent research has led to the general conclusion that the non-Aryan population of Southern India is made up of two different racial stocks which have been called pre-Dravidian. If, as is believed, the Dravidian represents Neolithic man, is it not possible

at least that the pre-Dravidian represents in part at least Palæolithic man? In culture, wherever the pre-Dravidian has not been altered to any extent by modern influences, he remains about as primitive as his forbear of prehistoric times. Even where he has changed, the changes he has undergone are, it might be conceded, commensurate with the ages which have elapsed since the days of Palæolithic man in India.

That is the trend of the reasoning of to-day, made possible by the researches of the last twenty years or so. But even certain older writers have maintained this theory of identification. Dalton, in his *Ethnology of Bengal*, was the first to speculate on this point. Speaking of the Vindhyan hill-men, whom he knew intimately, he said that "here we still find specimens of the lowest type of humanity; creatures who might justly be regarded as the unimproved descendants of the manufacturer of the stone implements found in the Damodar Coal Fields. These are the true aborigines, the Asuras, from whom a considerable proportion of the black pigment is derived that has darkened the skins of a large section of the (Indian) population." Dr. Keane, adopting this theory, goes on to suggest that India was first peopled by woolly-headed negritos from Malaysia who "could easily have moved through Tennasserim and Arakan round the Bay of Bengal to the Himalayan slopes, where they have left traces of their former presence, and whence they gradually spread over the Peninsula most probably in early Palæolithic times." He traces their existence from the Himalayan slopes to the Southern uplands of Travancore, Cochin, Coorg and Mysore. From an examination of the more backward amongst their present day descendants, e.g., Koravas of Madras Presidency and Juangs of Orissa, he infers they must have been not only dark but also short in stature, in fact so short as to be styled pygmies. In support of this theory may be adduced the tradition that extensively prevails in Southern India¹ that the cromlechs and dolmens mark the burial sites of a race of pygmies who at one time formed the general population of the land. They are variously termed *Moriar mane* or *Pandu Kuzhi* (from a supposed connection with the Pandavas or dating from Pandava, i.e., very ancient times) and *Mandu* or *Mandavar* Kuzhi (i.e., the pits of the dead). However called, they are in most localities believed to be the burial sites of a pygmy race and in certain others as even the dwelling places of the same race. The idea that these cromlechs and dolmens, in most cases diminutive structures, could possibly have been the abodes of men at any time, may itself be taken as significant of the belief in a pygmy race that has so far proved itself persistent in Southern India. The evidence of the Hindu Epic Ramayana may also be incidentally referred to in this connec-

¹ Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle, 1902-03.

tion. This epic has been taken to represent events that occurred between, say, the 14th and 10th century B.C. Whether this is so or not, there can be no question that the tribes referred to in it as living in Southern India had long since passed out of the minds of the men who belonged to the time of Valmiki. The Ramayana describes India south of the Vindhya as one interminable forest, inhabited by barbarous aborigines who are described as veritable monkeys and bears of various kinds. Though to their physical appearance a bestial description is given, so far as mental and moral considerations go, they are described as sentient human beings. They are described as persons endowed with likes and dislikes; with passion and vigour; with kingdoms to lose and kingdoms to gain; with domestic quarrels and internecine warfare; with even a code of morals that put to shame their Aryan neighbours in the North. They scheme for foreign aid, they form alliances, they know the use of weapons of warfare, they improvise armies, they are capable of marching long distances and they are possessed of engineering skill sufficient to help the bridging of seas. Withal they are described as possessed of physical characteristics reminding a civilized race of the monkey and the bear and as addicted to habits of life revolting to the Aryans. A possible inference is that the indigenous race of the South was possibly of a physically repellent type—highly prognathous and strongly reminding civilized people of a type akin to the monkey and the bear—and their habits of life were probably on a par with their low culture. This tradition of their physical uncouthness and low culture appears to have survived down to a very late period when, with the distance of time, poets with imaginative faculties highly developed, in describing the successful adventures of eponymous Aryan heroes described their opponents and allies in the South, not as a race of pygmies with prognathous faces, hairy bodies, savage habits, and enveloped in dresses strange to the eye as much as it showed a tail but as veritable monkeys and bears with every human attribute in the mental plane. This latter description was rendered necessary because the legends on which undoubtedly the main story of the epic was based made it apparently plain that, but for such frank admission, Rama's exploits would be rendered impossible and the epic lose its very basis. That this belief in a pygmy race, strikingly prognathous in the face, short in structure and endowed with a tail at the back of the body, survived down to late Buddhist times is rendered possible by a remarkable stone panel forming part of the far-famed Sanchi Stupa. Sir Herbert Risley was the first to draw public attention to this rather neglected panel. Readers of his book will recall his reproduction of a part of the panel on the cover of his book. This shows the higher and lower physical types of the days of the epic as conceived by the people of Buddhist

times. Under trees with conventional foliage and fruits, three women, diminutive in size and attired in tight clothing, without skirts, kneel in prayer before a small shrine or altar. In the foreground, the leader of a procession of monkeys—short in size, highly prognathous in face, and with tails at the backs—bears in both hands a bowl of liquid and stoops to offer it at the shrine. His solemn look and the strangely adoring look of his following seem intended to pourtray reverence, devotion and humility. In the background four stately figures, two men and two women of tall stature and regular features, clothed in flowing robes and wearing elaborate turbans, look on with folded hands in what seems apparent approval of this remarkable act of worship. From the racial point of view, this carving would, as Sir Herbert rightly remarks, "belong to the same order of ideas as the story in the Ramayana of the army of apes who assisted Rama in the invasion of Ceylon. It shows us of the higher race on friendly terms with the lower, but keenly conscious of the essential difference of type and taking no active part in the ceremony at which they appear as sympathetic but patronising spectators." Here we see physically depicted the two types and the apish appearance of the lower type is insisted on. The question whether this type is rightly conceived or described need not detain us long. For the incidents with which they are connected so far as the Ramayana is concerned took place, say, some fourteen centuries before Christ and Valmiki's picture of the times, though based on the earliest recensions kept alive by the professional reciters, was a highly coloured one, and possibly included the ideas more of his own times about peoples and their manners of olden days than anything else. Ideas about physical bearing are likely to last long in the memories of people, more especially in India where physical types strikingly different from each other have always been in evidence. And as regards the tail, it may be pointed out that it probably referred to a peculiarity in the mode of the dressing of the lower class of people whom the earliest Aryans came into contact with in the South of India. Thus, the marvellous travellers' tale about the "tailed-men" of the Nicobars has been explained on this basis. They have been found in fact to owe their origin to the tail-like method of wearing the loin-cloth;¹ a kind of wearing that still persists among certain classes in Southern India on ceremonial occasions. In later days, when the conception of their physical type corresponded more and more with that of the monkey, the Aryans described them as actually endowed not with apish physical characteristics in the face, but also generally in the body. This made the identification of the earliest people of South India with monkeys all but complete, though they had still the attributes of thinking people left to them. The

¹ E.H. Man, *Journ. Anth. Inst.*, XV. 442.

inference seems irresistible that the monkey and bear tribes described to us in the Ramayana were really human beings, that they belonged to a low type, that though low in physical type, still they had attained to the elements of civilization that allowed of their being ruled by kings and princes, their possessing a code of morals and warfare that was by no means despicable, and their seeking alliances with their Aryan neighbours to settle their own internecine wars. Possibly, as in Europe so in India, during the palæolithic times different human varieties (representing the monkey, bear, etc., of later times) were already existent in it and that though in their physical characters they were in some respects more animal-like than some of the Indians of to-day, they were hardly more so than certain of the lower physical types to be met with to-day in Africa and Australia. Though undoubtedly human in all respects, probably where they differed from the Indians of to-day they approximated to the lower physical type, which is still in existence.

Not long ago excavations conducted by Mr. Rea, Superintendent of Archaeology in Madras, at an extensive prehistoric or protohistoric burial ground at Adittanallur, in Tinnevelly, the southernmost district of the Presidency, brought to light an excellent series of iron implements, bronzes, pottery utensils, and large burial urns of the type which is traditionally believed to have been made for the reception of the corpses of a race of pygmies. Many of these urns contained human bones and skulls, some of which are of immense interest, since they exhibit unmistakable prognathism—projection of the lower jaw—a character which, according to Mr. Edgar Thurston, occasionally occurs in existing man in Southern India. Two of the skulls found at Adittanallur are now preserved in the Madras Museum and they are conspicuously prognathous. Though Mr. Thurston is unable to subscribe to the prognathism of the Dravidian tribes of Southern India or of the jungle people, he admits of the existence of examples thereof. This survival of prognathism in the existing type has to be traced to the influence of a prognathous ancestor. Writing of the Adittanallur burial site, M.L. Lapicque, who recently visited Southern India, says: "J'ai rapporté un spécimen des urnes funéraires, avec une collection assez complète du mobilier funéraire. J'ai rapporté aussi un crâne en assez bon état, et parfaitement déterminable. Il est hyperdolichociphale, et s'accorde avec la série que le Musée d'Archéologie de Madras a déjà réunie. Je pense que la race d'Adichanal-lour appartient aux Proto-Dravidens." Six of the most perfect skulls from Adittanallur measured by Mr. Thurston yielded the following results:—

Cephalic index.

66	67·8
66·5	77·1
67·8	78·

Compare with this the results obtained by measuring 40 each of the most numerous of the Tamil castes of Southern India to-day :—

Class	Cephalic index below 70
Palli	64·4 to 69·6
Paraiyan	64·8 to 69·5
Vellala	67·9 to 69·6

This shows how the hyperdolichocephalic type survives in the dolichocephalic inhabitants of the South.

Though this reasoning may sound plausible enough, it is far more safe to treat the question as an open one. In the absence of any palaeolithic skulls to judge from, it seems right that generalizations are not indulged in. Even in Europe where Palaeolithic man has received particular attention it has not been possible to say whether any of the existing European races could be traced to the several human varieties which existed in Palaeolithic times. Duckworth, who has carefully examined the morphological characters of the Neanderthal, Spy and Krapina remains, states as his opinion that "the individuals thus characterized are associated in a group specially distinct from the modern Hominidæ to which the name *Homo-primo-genius* of *Homo-neanderthalensis* has been applied¹". The time, therefore, has not yet arrived for saying whether any of the existing primitive tribes of Southern India are racially traceable to Palaeolithic man. We want more definite evidence, in the shape of undoubted Palaeolithic skulls and skeletons, before we can pronounce any opinion on this point. For this, an organized prehistoric survey is necessary and until this is accomplished questions of this kind cannot be satisfactorily answered.

A survey of the kind proposed would not only help us materially in the solution of ethnological problems as such but also enable us to understand the early history and even the geography of this vast continent. Such a survey has been suggested by the late Mr. Bruce Foote whose work, *Indian Pre-Historic and Proto-Historic Remains*, to which I am much indebted, has been posthumously issued by Dr. J. H. Henderson, until recently Superintendent of the Madras Government Museum. Writing in 1910, he thus observed : "Considering how rich in neolithic sites the Southern Deccan is known to be, it is surprising how very few illustrations of the handicraft of that age have reached the Madras collection, which is absolutely deficient in examples of the pottery characteristic of that period. This is a want which will never be adequately remedied till a full and exhaustive survey of the country is made by a really competent specialist, who should be a geologist and an osteologist

1. W. L. M. Duckworth's *Morphology and Anthropology*, 540-42. Cf. Mem. (1902), 180.

as well, a trained archæologist not a mere architectural surveyor. A knowledge of Sanskrit will be of no use in deciding as to the sources whence were derived the many foreign rocks and minerals found in the many old residential sites which up to date have only had their surfaces examined, but which will doubtless, in many cases, yield rich finds to the careful excavator who must be a man having the power to devote time to his work not a mere bird of passage as I was at the time of my journeyings about Southern India, because of my official duties as member of the Geological Survey of India." He adds later: "The urgency for the establishment of a genuine prehistoric survey is very great if the study of this most fascinating branch of archæology is to be encouraged and the wanton destruction of prehistoric monuments checked." Finally he remarks: "Every year numbers of prehistoric burial places are destroyed by the rapacity of the Waddars, the wandering tribe of tank diggers who are allowed to annex the fine slabs composing the kistavæns while independent archæologists are, by Government order, forbidden to open any old graves unless they are willing to make over to the Museum all their finds and bear their own expenses. The lapse of time and effects of weather greatly tend to diminish the remains of the old people in the sites they occupied. The action of the plough in many cases, and the trampling of herds of cattle in others are active elements of destruction of pottery buried near the surface and even of stone implements as might easily be shown if space allowed. These remarks apply with equal force to the old sites of the early iron age folks, both residential and sepulchral". Since this was written, the Indian Archæological Survey has been re-organized under the able guidance of Sir John Marshall and the work it has done speaks for itself. Its conservation work has been splendid and that will enable a genuine prehistoric survey of the kind proposed not only possible but also highly profitable. If conservation of the kind now enforced had been thought of earlier, much that has been lost by careless, nay even reckless, handling would have remained to us. Quite apart from Mr. Bruce Footc's unfortunate references to mere architectural surveyors and Sanskrit knowing men, the case for a prehistoric survey has been, I think, made out. Such a survey is now a desideratum and the only authority which can rightly undertake it is the Government. Now that we have a fully equipped Archæological survey at work all over India including the Indian States, and there is at the head of it all one who is fully alive to the needs of the hour, is it too much to hope that this suggestion will receive his attention? All that is needed is first the separation of all work connected with prehistoric archæology, work of the historic times; next, to create a suitable subsidiary agency in each circle or Indian State for its work; and thirdly, the appointment of a trained prehistoric archæologist at the

Director-General's head-quarters for co-ordinating the work done all over the country and presenting the results once a year in the *Annual* under a suitable heading. The cost of the staff required cannot prove, I think, too much, and ought not to stand in the way, more especially when we remember that nothing systematic has been done in the matter up till now. Work of this kind carried on for some years continuously will, I have no doubt, add much to our knowledge of the peoples of past ages and the cultures they attained to. It is to be hoped that the suggestion put forward will receive the sympathetic attention of the Government of India and the rulers of Indian States. The Archæological Department has more than justified its existence and what it now urgently requires is an expansion of its staff and activities commensurate with the work which lies before it.

NOTE.

[In connection with the above paper, the following letter has been received by Mr. Hayavadana Rao from Mr. F. W. Robertson, I.C.S., Collector of Guntur, Madras Presidency, under date 5th December 1920 :—

"I saw an extract of your lecture on A Prehistoric Survey of India in the Madras Mail, dated the 27th ult. As I am quite interested in the subject of prehistoric India, I should be grateful if you could send me a copy of the paper when published in full.

"I cordially agree with you as to the urgency of something systematic being done to explore the prehistory of India. There is already a considerable mass of evidence, archæologic, folklore, religious, linguistic and so on, but it all needs a thorough sifting and co-ordination. In addition there is of course an unknown quantity of prehistoric material in and on the ground only waiting for systematic exploration and the longer this is put off the greater is the danger of tumuli dolmens and so on being destroyed before any expert examination of them can be made."—ED. Q.J.M.S.]

THE VIKRAMORVASIVAM: AN APPRECIATION.

(By K. G. SESHA AYYAR, ESQ., B.A., B.L.)

THE *Vikramorvaśiyam* indisputably illustrates, like its more fortunate companion *Śakuntalam*, the rich significance of Indian mythology for purposes of dramatic inspiration. Urvaśi, a heavenly nymph, while returning from Kubéra's halls, is seized and carried off by a demon. Purúravas, king of Pratishṭhána, comes to the rescue, destroys the demon, and restores Urvaśi to her sister-nymphs who, after expressing their gratitude to the monarch, return with their companion to heaven. But, ere they have gone, Purúravas and Urvaśi have fallen in love with each other. A deep melancholy settles upon the mind of the love-sick king. He retires to his favourite jasmine-bower, where he unlocks his bosom to his *vídúshaka*, Māṇavaka, detailing to him the enchanting graces of the nymph, and pondering how he may realize the object of his wishes. In the meantime, Urvaśi, impelled by love, strays with her friend Citralékhá into the bower, and observes unnoticed the king's distraction. She afterwards discovers herself to the king, but is suddenly summoned by the messenger of the gods to her appointed duties in the palace of Indra. There her unguarded utterances betray her secret passion for Purúravas, and Indra permits her to repair to the monarch, and remain with him till he beholds the offspring she shall bear him. The lovers then seek the groves of Gandhamádana, where they enjoy each other's company. A nymph of air, happening to attract the momentary glance of the monarch, the jealous wrath of Urvaśi is roused, and she, disdainfully repelling her lord, thoughtlessly plunges into the groves of Kártikéya where, owing to an ancient curse, she is at once bereft of conscious being, and is transformed into a vine. The king, frantic with sorrow, roams through the wood in search of his lost bride. A voice in the air directs him to pick up a glittering ruby that lies in his way, and, by the mystic powers of this talisman, he redeems Urvaśi from her sad metamorphosis, and the lovers return to the city. A hawk flies away with the ruby of reunion, but is killed, and the jewel is returned by a lad who turns out to be Áyus, the offspring of Purúravas and Urvaśi, and whom the nymph, to prolong her blissful stay with her lord, had left at the hermitage of Cyavana, concealing from the king even the birth of the child. Urvaśi's joy at her happy restoration to both her child and her husband soon gives way to sorrow, when she remembers that the appointed time for her return to heaven is come. But just then the divine sage Nárada brings the commands of the lord of

heaven that Urvaśí shall through life be united with her hero in holy wedlock. The play concludes with the coronation of the young prince.

It will be seen from this abstract that the story of the play, when divested of its evident poetical embellishments, resolves itself into a simple love-story. The experience that forms the ground-work of the play could not well be more common place. But who will say that in the so-called common place there may not be discovered much that is beautiful and inspiring? Indeed, the more ordinary the mood of nature, or the phase of life that suggests a subject for a grand poetic outburst, the more conspicuous is the creative genius of the poet. It is not everyone who could find love in huts where poor men live, or could discover a fit theme for a richly suggestive song in a coy primrose clinging to the bare, bleak surface of a rock. So in the realm of the drama, the more commonplace the experience that furnishes the plot, the grander is the success of art if it presents that experience in a glorified form. It is a foundation principle of every art, whether its plastic expression be found in sounds or in colours, in words or in marble, that nature is not to be copied but exalted. As the author of *Zanoni* expresses it, "the grander art, whether of poet or painter, ever seeking for the true, abhors the real." The task of building a princely throne on humble truths is assuredly difficult, and we can form some idea of the creative genius of Kálidása, when we note that with a simple love-story for the ground-work, he has given us a play that for vivacity of description and tenderness of feeling, for exquisite elegance in the style and artistic finish in the execution, for refined beauty in the thought and keen insight into the springs of human nature, stands unsurpassed in Samskr̥t literature. To our present-day ideas and rationalistic notions, some of the incidents in the play may not commend themselves; but, when we remember how frequently heroes and goddesses meet in the pages of Homer, the story of the loves of Purúravas and Urvaśí will never be felt as an extravagant demand upon our imagination; while by the side of the wonderful instances of metamorphosis chronicled by Ovid, the transformation of Urvaśí into a vine is unlikely to give any shock to the recognized traditions of literature.

Bhavabhúti says, in the prelude to his *Málati-máddhava*, that the essential features of a good drama consist in the profound exposition of the various passions, pleasing interchange of mutual affection, loftiness of character, delicate expression of desire, a surprising story, and elegant language. Judged by these requisites, the *Vikramórvaśiyam* may be pronounced to be faultless; but the play will to no small extent bear to be tested by the rules of criticism applicable to the most developed forms of the modern drama. There are two fundamental divisions of dramatic interest. The first consists in *human interest*, or life represented in action, by which are meant not only the

varieties of human nature, or character exhibited on the stage, but also items of human experience or passion which the personages in the play are made to undergo; and the other consists in *action*, or the working together of all the details presented so as to produce an impression of unity. These two constituents are amply recognisable in the present play. The application of the different forms of the interest of action to the interest of character and of passion, which comprise *human interest* affords us the various subjects for consideration in dramatic art and criticism. Besides the obvious interest in the character of single individuals, all plays afford opportunities for the complex interest of character contrast, and for this end several individuals are brought together in interesting dramatic situations, so that their characters may be compared and contrasted. Though, indeed, the extreme simplicity of the *Vikramôrvaśtyam* precludes any great scope for display of character, we can never fail to note the masterly way in which the timid constancy of Urvaśi is contrasted with the irresolute haughtiness of the queen. Again, Urvaśi and her trusty companion Citralékhā form a very interesting pair for character contrast. Yet another group affording the interest of character of contrast is formed by the love-sick king pining after Urvaśi, and his lively companion Māṇavaka, who possesses a remarkable combination of shrewdness and simplicity, and a fondness for the pleasures of the table rather than for the entertainment of romantic sentiments. But with the passion-side of human interest the play is really replete. Passion, as a term of dramatic art, is used by Prof. Moulton in his *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist* to express the experience of persons grasped as a whole by the emotional side of human nature. The simplest form of passion interest in a play is that afforded by the interest of incident or situation. A particular course of action in the play produces in us a particular emotional effect; and the most powerful emotional effects are produced by *dramatic irony* which consists in an unexpected appearance of double dealing in surrounding circumstances. Of fine dramatic situations, there are not a few in the play, and there are some very good instances of dramatic irony in it. Thus the billet Urvaśi writes to Purûravas, confessing her strong love for him, falls into the hand of the only person who should not see it, i.e., the queen. Again, in the scene at the pavilion of gems, where a reconciliation is effected between Purûravas and his queen, the latter exclaims,

" Whatever nymphs attract my lord's regard
And share with him the mutual bond of love,
Thenceforth I treat with kindness and complacency,"

little suspecting that Urvaśi is standing just behind hearing her solemn vow

and ready to take advantage of it. So too when the monarch in the fulness of joy says :—

“ Thus blessed, my love, with thee and with my son,

“ I envy not the happiness of Indra,”

Urvaśī is, by the mention of the name of the monarch of heaven, reminded that she may no longer tarry on earth, and she at once becomes overwhelmed with tempestuous grief. This sudden appearance of double dealing in surrounding events is one of the most frequent effects that we witness in the play. Besides these instances of single passion interest there is in the present work room for the display of a complexity of passions in the appeals which the conduct or fate of the personages makes to the different sides of our emotional nature. While the genius of ancient Greece carried the spirit of exclusiveness even to the keeping of comedies strictly apart from tragedies as two hostile forms of composition, and totally debarred the admixture of the serious and the gay in the same play, the Indian dramatists recognised that tragic earnestness is not incompatible with comic vivacity, and that life in the drama is no more exclusively gay or exclusively serious than life in the world. We therefore notice in the Indian drama that mixture of passion tones which is so characteristic of Shakespeare's plays.

In the *Vikramōrvāsiyam* may be recognized the whole range of passion tones, from the farcical to the tragic. Thus, when Māpavaka advises the monarch to enjoy a nap that he may in his dreams effect his ardently wished for union with the nymph or when he suggests to the queen that she had better order dinner as the most effective remedy for his majesty's bile, we are introduced to the lowest note on the gamut of the passions, whilst the scenes where his native shrewdness and naïveté are freely allowed to interrupt the dignified sentimentality of the monarch, afford us all the pleasures of a genuine comedy. Then again, in the replies of the clear-sighted Citralékhā to Urvaśī, we discern a higher note. To give one instance, when Urvaśī, on taking leave of the king on the top of Hémakúṭa, tells her companion :—

“ Dear girl, this straggling vine

Has caught my garland ; help me to get loose,”

Citralékhā playfully replies :—

“ No easy task, I fear ; you seem entangled

Too fast to be set free : but, come what may,

Depend upon my friendship”.

Elsewhere, as in the king's musings in the earlier portions of the play, a distinctly elevated tone is observable, while the scene in which the king on bended knee plays the penitent before the queen, who has confronted him

with Urvaśī's letter, is conceived in an unmistakeably serious key. When we read that characteristic scene in the pavilion of gems, where the queen, "a lady of exalted spirit, and a wife of duty most exemplary", resigns her own happiness to promote that of her husband, we cannot fail to see that a still higher phase of passion, which is distinctly heroic, is there illustrated. Lastly, there are not wanting scenes in which we are for a while left in a state of intense suspense, and the strain upon our emotional nature makes us suspect that we are on the threshold of a crisis. In such scenes, we have the true tragic interest, as when we listen to the ravings of Purúravas, whom Urvaśī has in a fit of jealousy cast off, when we see that his imagination is so far heated as to make him mistake the thunder-cloud and the lightning for a *daitya* carrying away his Urvaśī, or when we witness the disconsolate sorrow of the nymph on suddenly recollecting the inexorable decree that she must leave her lord for ever on his beholding their offspring. It will thus be seen that there exists in the play a complete mixture of tones, and it cannot therefore be properly classed among comedies, any more than Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, or *Cymbeline*.

Besides these two stages of passion interest, there is yet a third passion movement, which relates to the motive force that determines the train of events in the play. When we consider the principles on which the train of events is ordered in the play, we recognize a greater affinity to the drama of ancient Greece. The leading motive forces employed by the dramatists of antiquity were supernatural agencies, the course of events being controlled, either secretly in the form of *destiny*, or by the overt intervention of supernatural beings in human affairs. The Shakespearian drama, as a more developed form of art, has substituted *law* or *providence* for the *destiny* of the ancients, and, instead of allowing supernatural beings to direct the progress of events, merely uses supernatural agency to intensify or illuminate courses of conduct initiated independantly of such agency. In the *Vikramōrvāsiyyam*, the chief motive force is *destiny*, not malignant indeed, but powerful enough to subject even the sovereign of the gods to its inevitable and inscrutable decrees. Indeed, *destiny* forms the fringe as also the burden of the whole play. When Gālava, a disciple of the sage Bharata, is informed that Urvaśī, in impersonating Lakshmi before the gods, thoughtlessly mentioned the name of Purúravas, instead of Purushottama, as the individual to whom her heart inclined, he exclaims:—"The intellectual faculties are but the slaves of *destiny*". Again, when Sahajanyā is told that a trivial indiscretion on the part of Purúravas roused the jealous wrath of Urvaśī, she remarks:—

"Ungenerous girl! although it proves her love, yet *destiny* is mightier".

When the king learns that the happiness of seeing his son Áyus is gained at the risk of losing his beloved Urvaśī for ever, his bitter reflection is:— “Adverse *fate* is still intent to mar my perfect joy”. The experiences of human life are not invariably reducible to law or justice. It is, therefore, the function of the dramatist to order events in the play which shall be explicable only by reference to an invisible motive force. Life bristles with inexplicable puzzles, and, for their justification, we have to take shelter in *destiny*. The inconsistencies of human experience will fit themselves perfectly in an ordained scheme of events, if regarded from elsewhere and a higher standpoint. The dramatist has to bring out the hidden beauties of *destiny*; but, in doing so, he does not negative the reign of law. For what after all is *destiny* to the Indian? It is only another name for *karma*, or *dharma*, which means the law of an individual's past, whereby he is born into the place for which his evolution fits him; and which, placing him in that environment, imposes on him the duties by the discharge of which the next stage in evolution will be reached; and hence the postulation of *destiny* is really the vindication of a grander and more comprehensive *law*.

It is not only the working of *destiny*, however, that determines the march of events in the play. Kálidásá has also employed the supernatural as a motive force in his play. It has been claimed that in Shakespeare the supernatural merely intensifies human action without directly determining it, and that is just the use to which Kálidásá has put the supernatural in his play. Still a difference has to be noted. It is a rule of the Indian drama that the conclusion should not be tragic. While, almost to the very end, supernatural powers are employed mainly to intensify the action of the *dramatis personæ*, while they merely assist from the back-ground, the progress of the destiny that the hero and the nymph have forged for themselves, the rigour of the Samskrt drama, which prohibits a tragic conclusion, has induced Kálidásá to introduce the divine sage Nárada, who conveys to Purùravas and Urvaśī the benediction of Indra that the husband and wife shall never be separated, and summons the monarch to the palace of Indra, where his assistance is required against the foes of the gods. But even here, the king, before the arrival of the sage, had already resolved to leave the reins of government in the hands of his son Áyus, and betake himself to the forest; so that Nárada simply accentuates the resolution by commanding the coronation of the young prince and summoning Purùravas to the aid of Indra. Elsewhere, however, as when a messenger of the gods calls away Urvaśī and Citralèkhā from the jasmine bower, or when a voice in the air directs the king to take up the ruby of reunion, the dramatist apparently allows the direct interference of supernatural agency to guide the course of events in the play;

but even here the affinity is much nearer to the action of the ghost in *Hamlet* than is the action of the supernatural in the Greek drama.

Something remains to be said about the interest of plot. We have seen how *fate* is the ruling idea of the play. It forms indeed the frame which supports the whole fabric of the drama. But, besides this enveloping action of *destiny*, there is also irony employed as a link between the various actions of the play. Every obstacle in the movement of the drama is converted into a stepping-stone for the progress of the story. The billet dropped by Urvaṣī slips from the king's keeping when he most wants it, and falls into the hands of the queen, who confronts her nymph-enamoured husband and parts from him in high resentment; but her very indignation, and the contemptuous disdain with which she treats the king's protestations, make him resolve that her scorn will justify requital, and he pines all the more for Urvaṣī. When the nymph is obtained, however, the very depth of her love for the king makes her unreasonably jealous, and she recklessly plunges into the very groves that she would in her sober moments have abhorred, to be there metamorphosed into a vine. The ruby of reunion which ultimately restores the nymph to the monarch, also threatens to separate her from her lord for ever; since to it we owe the introduction of young Āyus to his parents, whose term of union, so Indra had ordained, was to end on the day his royal father should first behold him. But just then, when the eternal separation of the lovers seems imminent, the help of Purūravas is required by Indra against his enemies, and thus the hero and the nymph are enabled to repair together to the audience chamber of the monarch of the gods. Thus does Kālidāsa employ, with consummate skill, one of the simplest of dramatic motive forces to develop his plot.

THE DATE OF THE BHARATA WAR.

By K. G. SANKARA, Esq., B.A., B.L.

Mr. V. T. G. Kāle has tried [J.M.S.B. vol. 3, pp. 111—3] to fix the date of the Bhārata war as 1263 B.C. But his thesis seems unsound.

He starts with 312 B.C. as the date of Candragupta's accession, and refers to Jain authorities. The *traditional* date of Viśanirvāṇa is 470 years before the Vikrama era, i.e., 528 B.C. The interval thereafter to Candragupta is given as 219, 215, or 155 years. Hemacandra gives the last figure. But, accepting 215 years as correct, we have for Candragupta $528 - 215 = 313$, not 312 B.C.; and the accepted date is 321, not 313 B.C.

Mr. Kāle tries to show that the Purāṇic interval between the Bhārata war and Candragupta's accession is 951 years, thus placing the Bhārata war in $951 + 312 = 1263$ B.C., and quotes *Vāyu Purāṇa* [Calcutta: ch. 37, st. 409-10].

*Mahādev—ābhishhekāt tu yāvaj=janma Parīkṣhitah !
eka-varsha-sahasram tu jneyam pāncāśad-uttaram !!
pramāṇam vai tathā c=oktam Mahāpadm-ottaram ca yat !
antaram tac=chatāny=ashṭau shaṭ-trimśac=ca samāh smṛtāh !!*

These give the interval between Mahādeva's anointment and the birth of Parīkṣit, shortly after the Bhārata war, as *eka-varsha-sahasram pāncāśad-uttaram*. This expression Mr. Kāle takes to mean $1 + 1000 - 50 = 951$, and not $1 \times 1000 + 50 = 1050$. He compares *eka-sata-sākhā* (101) and *āry-āshṭā-sāta* (108). But *ashtā-sāta* (108) is not *ashṭa-sāta* (800), and in these *varsha* does not part *eka* and *ashṭa* from *sāta*, as in *eka-varsha-sahasram*. Again, Mr. Kāle takes *uttaram* to mean *minus*, not *plus*, and quotes, in support, a stanza giving Śankara's date,

*Catus-sahasre dvi-śat-ottare gate !
tishye=vatīrṇo bhuvi Śankarāyat !!*

This gives for Śankara's birth the date of Kali *catus-sahasre dvi-śat-ottare*. Mr. Kāle says it means $4000 - 200 = 3800$ (699 A.C.), not $4000 + 200 = 4200$ (1099 A.C.). But, in both cases, the date is neither the true, nor the traditional date. Mr. Kāle has thus failed to prove that the interval from the Bhārata war to Mahadeva is 951, not 1050 years, and has also assumed the identity of Mahādeva, and Candragupta.

Mr. Kāle says the 2nd stanza gives the interval from Parīkṣit's *coronation* to Mahāpadma. But it does not mention Parīkṣit at all, and there is no need for this double calculation. The 2nd stanza alone would suffice. But

it really gives another interval, from Mahāpadma to the compilation of the *Purāṇa*, of 836 years, for “*cā Mahāpadm-ottaram yat antaram tat*” means “and the interval after Mahāpadma”; and “*pramāṇam vai tathā c=oktam*” means “This is indeed authoritative, and it has also been said”, not “The authority for this (interval of 951 years) is the following tradition.” In this view, Mahāpadma and Mahādeva refer to the same king.

Mr. Kāle reconciles the 2 figures by taking the larger to include 100 years for the Nandas, and 15 years for Parīkṣit's age at coronation. But the *Mahābhārata* clearly gives the age to be 36 years, not 15.

Mr. Kāle also quotes Āryabhaṭa's statement that 6 *Manus* and $27\frac{3}{4}$ *yugas* had elapsed before the Bhārata war, and takes it to mean that 459 $\frac{3}{4}$ *yugas* of 4 years each=1839 years had elapsed, and that, by misreading *kalyādi* for *kalpādi*, the beginning of Kali itself was placed in 3102 B.C. But Āryabhaṭa himself placed the war in 3102, not 1263 B.C. He did not use the *yuga* in the Vedic sense of 4 years, as he relates it to *Manus*, but for a cosmic period. So Mr. Kāle assumes that Āryabhaṭa mistook the traditional 459 $\frac{3}{4}$ *yugas* to refer to the cosmic *yugas*. But we have no evidence of such a tradition; and the misreading *Kalyādi* is a bare assumption. Mr. Kāle also assumes that the starting-point 3102 B.C. was known in the Vedic age. But it is an invented date, not a natural epoch, arrived at by backward calculation, when *all* planets, by their mean motions, ought to have been in conjunction at the beginning of *meshā*. This date, involving knowledge of *all* planets and their rates of motion, could not have been known in the Vedic age, since even Kauṭilya of c. 300 B.C. knew only Jupiter and Venus. The equation 3102—1839=1263 B.C. cannot, hence, confirm Mr. Kāle's date.

TOLKAPYA'S RELIGION.

BY K. G. SANKARA, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

Note.—This note is based on a Tamizh paper of Mr. S. Vaiyāpuri Pillai [*Sen Tamizh*, vol. 18, pp. 337—40]. The Tamizh ஏ and ஒ are transliterated by *e* and *o*.

We here discuss the faith of the earliest Tamizh grammarian, Tolkāpya. His co-disciple Panampāranār refers to him as *paṭimaiyon* [*Tolkāpyam*. Foreword]. Ilampūraṇar explains it to mean 'an ascetic.' *Paṭimai* does not seem a Tamizh word. It is derived from *pratimā* (Samskr) through *paṭimā* (Prākrt). But *pratimā* is used for 'practice of penance' only in Jain works, where it applies to the penance of house-holders. So Toikāpya was a Jain house-holder, who practised penance. It may be argued that it is Panampāranār who uses the word, and that this can *only* show that *he* was a Jain. But, if *Tolkāpya* too were not a Jain, Panampāranār would have referred to him as an ascetic, otherwise than by this Jain technical term. So both were Jains. Also, since there is a Kapi-gotra among Brāhmaṇs, and since *Kāpya* means 'a member of the Kapigotra', Tolkāpya may have been a Brāhmaṇ, before he became a Jain. Others explain his name as meaning 'a native of the ancient (*tol*) village *Kāpya*'.

BOOKS, ETC., REVIEWED.

A Guide to the Old Observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain and Benares.

BY G. R. KAYE, F.R.A.S., GOVERNMENT PRESS, CALCUTTA.

Mr. Kaye is the well-known author of the History of "Hindu Astronomy", and "Indian Mathematics". The book before us is stated by the author to be based upon a larger work of his embodied in Volume XL of the New Imperial Series of the Archaeological Survey of India. This book contains an interesting description of Maharaja Jai Singh's astronomical activities, and the observatories erected by him which are in the words of Tod (Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan) "monuments that irradiate a dark period of Indian History". Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II of Jaipur (born 1686, died 1743) was the founder of Jainagar or Jaipur which became a centre of learning in his time. He attached himself to no particular school of Astronomy, but studied impartially Hindu, Muslim and European methods and constructed observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain and Benares for practical observation. He is said to have been acquainted with the works of his predecessors and contemporaries, such as Ptolemy's Almagest, the Astronomical Tables of Ulugh Beg and Flamsteed's Historia Coelestis Britannica. One of the most important acts of Jai Singh was to order a translation into Sanskrit of the Mijasti the Arabic rendering of Ptolemy's Almagest which held sway in Europe for a thousand years, and the translation was prepared by Jai Singh's chief astronomer Jagannath and entitled Siddanta Samraj. Another important work of Jai Singh is the Zij Muhammad Shahi which is a set of astronomical tables prepared under his direction, and named after the Emperor Muhammad Shah. It is based upon the catalogue of stars of Ulugh Beg which was brought up to date. The interesting preface to the Zij Muhammad Shahi which is in the quaint oriental style is given in full in the book before us. The second chapter deals with the several instruments constructed by Jai Singh in his observatories. The instruments consisted of two general classes—metal and masonry instruments. Of the metal instruments the astrolabe Yantraraj appears to have played a very important part. Jai Singh constructed huge masonry instruments varying in size from a few feet to ninety feet in height. The third chapter deals with the description and history of the several observatories. The observatories at Dehli, Jaipur and Benares are said to be in good repair, while that at Ujjain is said to be going into ruins. Ujjain or Avanti is one of the most ancient astronomical centres in the world, and even to the present day is regarded by orthodox Hindus as the Greenwich of India, and it is a pity it should be allowed to fall into ruins. Mr. Kaye observes with reference to the Benares observatory that its value is chiefly historical being a monument to one of the brightest intellects of India, and that it might have another

value, if advantage were taken, namely, an educational one, as for the demonstration of the elements of practical astronomy a better set of instruments could hardly be devised.

In the last chapter the development of astronomical science as it affected Jai Singh's work is briefly surveyed, and incidentally the three schools of astronomy—the Hindu, Muslim and European, are compared. Mr. Kaye states that all the three schools derived the fundamentals of their astronomical science from the Greeks that, among the Greek Astronomers, there was a distinct tendency to work only on the observations recorded by their predecessors, and consequent neglect of observational astronomy, and that this tendency was emphasised to a remarkable extent with the Hindus and practical work was almost completely neglected by them. The Hindus built no observatories and made no systematic record of observations. The Arab and Muslim Astronomers took an entirely different line: they recognized the value of practical observation, built observatories, devised improvements in the instruments, and set about verifying and correcting Ptolemy's elements, but hardly suspected the need for a re-examination of the Greek theories. The European Astronomers largely discarded the methods of their predecessors, and the death of the Ptolemaic theory and the invention of the telescope gave a great impetus to research. The European Astronomers recognized in their methods the inevitability of observational error and took measures to counteract it, attached great importance to facility of observation and devised such instruments as the micrometer, vernier and telescopic sights. The main influence that directed Jai Singh's activities was that of Muslim astronomers of the type of Ulugh Beg. His bent was practical and he was particularly anxious to eliminate instrumental errors. In his own words as set out in the preface to the *Zij Muhammad Shahi*, "finding that brass instruments did not come up to the ideas which he (Jai Singh) had formed of accuracy, because of the smallness of their size, the want of division into minutes, the shaking and wearing of their axes, the displacement of the centres of the circles, and the shifting of the planes of the instruments, he concluded that the reasons why the determinations of the ancients, such as Hipparchus and Ptolemy, proved inaccurate must have been of this kind, and therefore he constructed instruments of his own invention, of stone and lime of perfect stability". He failed to recognize the inevitability of observational error and sacrificed facility for supposed accuracy. He stereotyped his designs, for the larger and more immobile an instrument is the greater is the difficulty in making alterations and improvements. Mr. Kaye observes that, if Jai Singh had followed the lines of research indicated by European astronomers, his power and wealth might have enabled him to alter the whole condition of Indian scientific scholarship, and, instead of his labours ending with his death when "science expired on his funeral pyre" there might have been established a lasting school of research, while Jai Singh's work is now only a tradition, and his observations are archaeological remains. The book is full of illustrations and plates, and is a very interesting history of the scientific side of a remarkable Indian Prince.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute.

Vol. 2, Part 1. (July, 1920.)

This interesting journal maintains the level of its predecessors and is a record of the doings of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona. It contains five original articles besides the usual editorial notes. The journal contains obituary notices of three scholars of eminence, *viz.*, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Satis Chandra Vidya Bhushana, Prof. V. K. Rajvade and Mr. B. G. Tilak. The death of these scholars is a great loss to Sanskrit scholarship in various departments. Among the miscellaneous matter, there is a report of the Regulating Council and other proceedings of the Institute for the year. The first report makes a brief reference to the First Oriental Conference held in November 1919, the volume of proceedings of which has issued separately sometime since. The record of work by the institute is a praiseworthy one on the whole and augurs a good future for it.

Coming to the articles themselves, the first article is one entitled "Pradyota, Udayana and Śrēṇika"—a Jain legend. This legend is found in the Kumārapāla Pratibodha of Somaprabha, this being edited in the Gaekwar's Oriental series. We are told that the same legend is also found in a somewhat expanded form in Sashti Salāka Purusha Charita of Hēmachandra. Dr. P. D. Gune, the author of this article, gives the text of the Prakrit recension of the story and a general account of it in English bringing it into comparison with the various other sources from which the same story is available to us. The Brhatkatha, which embodies the same story in the introduction, if we take it on the authority of its professed translation the Katha Saritsagara, was a work which achieved a great reputation and is believed to have been known to Dandin. Another general Sanskrit work, Tilakamanjari of the tenth century, refers contemptuously to those writers who achieved great reputation by adopting for their themes "bits from the Brhatkatha." Somadeva, the author of the Kathasaritsagara, declares in so many words in the introduction that he renders in the work, the Brhatkatha in Sanskrit in an abbreviated form without the slightest change otherwise in the subject matter. A Nepal manuscript of another Sanskrit version of the Brhatkatha has since been discovered and partly edited with an elaborate introduction and translation by Prof. Felix Lacote of the University of Lyons. The learned editor claims for the work direct affiliation to the original Brhatkatha refusing such a position of authority to the Kathasaritsagara in spite of the open declaration of the author at the outset. It would, therefore, be a matter very welcome to the world of Sanskrit scholars if the position of the existing translations of the original Brhatkatha could be put on a more definite footing.

The discovery of the dramas of Bhasa of which two deal with the subject of Brhatkathā, *viz.*, Svapnavāsavadatta and Pratigñā Yougandharāyaṇa, and this Ujjain legend takes us a step further in regard to Somadeva's Kathasaritsāgara being a regular translation of the Brhatkatha. Somaprabhā was a somewhat younger contemporary to Hēmachandra, and the actual version of the story under discussion

is said to have been told by Hēmachandra himself to the young king Kumārapāla, in order to exhibit to him the evil consequences that arise from the vice of adultery. The story briefly is as follows:—

Pradyota was the king of Ujjain. He was an ambitious ruler and wanted to subjugate Maghada, then under Srēnika, to his authority. Pradyota laid siege to Rājagr̥ha, the capital of Magadha. Being closely besieged, Srēnika began to despair of being able to raise the siege and consulted his son Abhayakumāra, who had a reputation for being a wise and clever prince, Abhayakumāra had a number of copper pots filled with gold Coins and had them buried overnight outside the fort where the Ujjain army lay encamped. Having done this he sent information to Pradyota that his officers had been heavily bribed and that he was in danger of being handed over to the enemy by his own officers. He was also told that, if he wanted proof of this statement, he might dig up the camp of his officers and satisfy himself. Pradyota, naturally, was confounded at this perfidy on the part of his officers and made a hasty attempt to retreat when his army was attacked and put to rout. Pradyota discovered later that he was deceived into believing that his officers were perfidious by the cleverness of Abhayakumāra and wished somehow to make a prisoner of him in revenge. A courtesan undertook to do it for him and carried out her project successfully by settling for a time in Rājagr̥ha with two companions as a chaste widow and her daughters-in-law. Abhayakumāra's weakness for women led him into the trap set by her, and she was able to carry him away on the back of an elephant when he was drunk in her house.

As prisoner, he used to be consulted by Pradyota, obtaining a boon each time he gave effective counsel. Pradyota possessed four "jewels" of wonderful power: (1) an iron-footed messenger, (2) a fire-proof chariot, (3) the elephant Nalagiri, and (4) Śivadēvi his wife. It was on the advice of Abhayakumāra that Pradyota adopted the device and set an artificial elephant in the forests of the Vindhyas to tempt Udayana. Udayana was the ruler of Kosambi and was such an expert in music that he often gave himself up to the pleasure of tempting and captivating elephants by the extraordinary powers of his music. Pradyota had a beautiful daughter Vāsavadatta whom he wanted to give in marriage to Udayana and wished to bring about this marriage by getting Udayāna to teach her music. As Udayana could not be got to do this ordinarily, this advice was adopted to make a prisoner of him and thus get him to teach her the art. Then the story proceeds to bring about the meeting between the teacher and the pupil who were barred from view of each other by the device of a screen. They got to see each other in the course of an angry altercation, and fell in love with each other at sight. This love ripened into their resolution to elope to Udayana's Kosambi. The state elephant Nalagiri gets wild and ill-tempered. On the advice of Abhayakumāra, Pradyota agrees to set the she-elephant Bhadravati to tame him with Udayana on her back. Udayana undertakes the commission only on condition that Vāsavadatta was in company. The mad

elephant was tamed. The king was pleased with this achievement of his, and, going away to his pleasure garden outside the city asked Udayana and the princess to follow. This opportunity was taken advantage of by Yaugandharāyana who had come to Ujjain in the guise of a mad man for the purpose of releasing his master. The good opportunity thus afforded by the king was taken advantage of to effect the escape of Udayana with Vāsavadattā, the minister also accompanying. This is all that there is in the story relating to Udayana and Pradyota which forms the subject of the Kathāsaritsāgara and possibly of the Brhatkathā as well, if the statement of Somadeva be accepted at its full value. The Jain version continues that a great calamity which befell Ujjain was averted by the queen Sivadevi offering oblations to the spirits at dead of night under the advice of Abhayakumāra. This last advice obtained for him his release; but, before taking leave of Ujjain he vowed before Pradyota that he would have his vengeance on him by making him prisoner in turn. Then follows the story of Pradyota's weakness for woman, Abhayakumāra's settling in Ujjain as a merchant with two of his courtesans as his sisters. During his stay in Ujjain he managed to secure the services of a man who pretended to be a lunatic brother of his. The lunatic used to be carried through the streets of Ujjain for treatment and in the course of the journey, the pretending lunatic would cry out that he was king Pradyota and was thus ill-treated. Pradyota himself was subjected to a similar treatment when he yielded himself to the charms of the courtesans and paid a visit to them. He was taken prisoner to Rajagriha and was saved from death by Abhayakumāra's intercession.

This part of the story does not concern us. Dr. Gune proceeds to discuss in detail the story of Bhāsa's drama relating to the first half and follows it by a similar discussion of the story as it occurs in the Kathāsaritsāgara. On a comparative study of these sources, he arrives at the conclusion in respect of the various versions, that they must all be regarded as independent, the only common source being the popular version. We should be quite willing to accept this conclusion of the learned doctor had it not been for the declaration, explicit and unmistakeable, of Somadeva, the author of the Kathāsaritsāgara. We have a Tamil version of the story but it is only a comparatively small part of the story that is extant, and even that has not yet been published. There was a Sanskrit version made by Durvinita, one of the Ganga kings of Mysore in the sixth century A.D. A reference was also made to Dandin's Kavyādarsa. Speaking of the Brhatkatha, Bāṇa speaks of the work as having been held in his time in great esteem. The author of the Tilakamanjari gives expression to his contempt of those who make great literary reputations from 'bits of the Brhatkatha'. This gives us a series of references, to the continuous existence of Brhatkatha almost up to the time of Somadēva. The Tamil work Manimēkalai contains a reference, allusively of course, to Yaugandharāyana walking the streets of Ujjain in a guise unworthy of his high station, and to the delectation of the crowds of Ujjain, bringing it in comparison with a similar occurrence in Kaveripatām. The detail alluded to is found in the Kathāsaritsāgara. There is no doubt that Katidasa refers to the inhabitants of Avanti as being very familiar with the story

of Udayana and as pleasing such guests as came to them by recounting the story. The story certainly must have been very popular and there must have been popular versions there which the dramatist might have dramatised and epic writers might have treated in heroic form. Still the conclusion seems possible that the Jain version given by the learned doctor might have had information regarding the other versions, and Hēmachandra the original narrator might have handled the story in his own way. All that we wish to point out here is that, having regard to the statement of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* that it was a translation of the *Bṛhatkatha*, the various versions discussed seem to support the statement of the author in spite of Prof. Lacote's judgment in favour of *Bṛhatkathā Sloka Sangraha*.

The next contribution is a continuation of a learned article comparing the commentaries of the Brahmasūtras of Sankara, Rāmānuja, Kēsava Kasmirin and Vallabha on some of the crucial Sūtras. This is a continuation of the treatment of the same subject in the previous issue by Mr. R. D. Karmarkar. We do not propose dealing with that at present. Then follows an interesting article by Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, the author of "Epic India," the "Riddle of the *Ramayana*," etc. "On the Pāndyas and the date of *Kalidasa*". He takes the two well-known stanzas in the sixth sarga of *Raghuvansha* concerning the svayamvara of Indumati. The context is where the princess is introduced into the durbar where are assembled all the princes who aspire to the hand of the princess. Indumati is led by her lady-in-waiting from prince to prince, the attendant introducing each prince to her mistress in suitable form. The Pāndya was introduced as the lord of Uragapura who wears "the long garland" and "whose chest carries on it the paste of sandal," two features that are supposed to be peculiar to the Pāndya. The garland here has reference to the garland that at one time was supposed to have been thrown on the neck of a distinguished early Pāndya by Indra. The sandal is always regarded as the tree peculiar to the Pāndya country: Uragapuram, on the analogy therefore and on the express statement of the author, was the capital of the Pāndya. The learned Rao Bahadur in this article identifies this Uragapura with Uraiur, the far-famed Chola capital of old. There was a discussion in regard to this Uragapuram in the columns of the *Mythic Journal* by me in reference to the occurrence of the name in the Gadwal plates of Vikramāditya which referred to his encampment in Uragapuram on the south bank of the Kaveri. Dr. Hultzhch identified it with Negapatam. I pointed out in the *Mythic Journal*, Vol. p. that, as Negapatam could not be described as on the south bank of the Kaveri, it would be much better to identify it with Nāgēśvaram very near Kumbakonam which might appropriately be described as on the south banks of the Kaveri. The reference there was to the Chola capital from which the Pāndya was dislodged. More recently however, the question has been settled having regard to the battles of Marudur, and Peruvallanallur in the same connection, and to the general circumstances of the position. It is clear that Uragapura there is Uraiur as suggested by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry. In this case Uragapura happens to be Uraiur, an illustration of the usual clumsy Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil names.

As far as we know at present we have not come across any reference to Uraiýur having been even in the temporary occupation of the Pândyas to be spoken of as their capital. It would therefore be difficult by any stretch to regard Uraiýur as the Pândya capital. Kâlidâsa's reference is obviously to the habitual capital not only of the particular Pândya under reference, but of the Pândyas in general. He speaks of Uragapura as the capital of the Pândya much as we would speak of Pâtalipura as the capital of Chandragupta or Ayodhya as the capital of RAMA. Uragapura as the capital of the Pândyas must refer to the Pândya capital Madura. In fact it is a synonym of the Sanskrit name Hâlasya which would simply mean 'the mouth of the extremely poisonous snake Hâlahâla', and Hâlasyanâtha is one of the alternative names of SIVA in the big temple at Madura. Among the various *llas* (playful manifestations of power) of SIVA there is a story that the city and the country round were once upon a time so flooded as to be under water. The Pândya king for the time being did not know the boundaries of the city, and by favour of SIVA a big cobra appeared on the water marking the boundary of the whole city. The cobra is said to have done this by stretching himself round the whole country, and the city of Madura is said to be just where its mouth was. This apparently was the cause of the name Hâlasya, and Uragapura would only be a synonym of this particular name. It would therefore be impossible to draw any inference as to the date of Kâlidâsa from this name occurring in the context in which it does.

The learned Rao Bahadur makes this an argument that Kâlidâsa's reference to the Pândyas in this wise makes it impossible that Kâlidâsa could have lived in the sixth century. The substance of his argument continues to be valid in spite of the fact that Uragapura could not be referred to Uraiýur. Kâlidâsa no doubt does not refer to the Cholas or the Pallavas as does the MAHABHARATHA in one connection. The RAMAYANA does not refer to the Cholas or to the Pallavas. In one context at any rate, Sahadêva's conquest of the South, the MAHABHARATHA also passes over the Pallavas and the Cholas in its recital of the southern kingdoms. This might support the inference of Mr. Vaidya that Kâlidâsa may have to be referred to the first century B.C. as Indian tradition has it. That position will have to be established or given up on grounds other than the reference to Uragapura.

What follows next is an article on the classification of *Alankaras* by P. K. Gode. Mr. Gode calls for a classification of the *alankaras* (figures of speech in Sanskrit), on some rational basis similar to that of Dr. Bain for English, and considers a psychological basis the best as providing the most general principle for the ultimate evolutions of the philosophy of Indian rhetoric. The psychological principle will have breadth, will provide the necessary organic unity as the outcome of the unity of mind and would be based entirely upon methods of psychological analysis. He examines a few of the Sanskrit figures of speech and illustrates his position in regard to these from Prof. Chandorkar's edition of Vidyânâtha's Pratâparudra Yasobhûṣaṇa. Next follows an interesting paper, No. 2, of a series, on the Dêvanâgari recension of the Mahâbhâratha by Utgikar. Mr. Utgikar is the special officer engaged in the

collation of the Mahābhāratha text for the all-India edition of the Mahābhāratha undertaken by the institute at the instance of the Chief of Aundh. In this particular article Mr Utgikar publishes the results of his studies on the Sabhāparvan on the basis of 14 MSS., and of the Virātaparvan as a result of a similar study of 11 MSS. He discusses in detail a passage or two in the Virātaparvan and comes to the important conclusion that certain accretions to the text were adopted at a period somewhat anterior to the generality of the MSS. but subsequent to three of the earliest, in one of which the particular line in question is noted on the margin in a different hand. Taking the 11 MSS. of the text he finds two of them ignoring it altogether, one of them recording them in the margin in a different hand and the remaining eight having it in the body of the text. He then proceeds to point out that the last eight are not older than the first two, and draws the conclusion "a line originally not to be had in the text of three MSS. begins to gain currency by finding its way on the margin of only one of these and ends by becoming a part and parcel of the text." He does not find any traces of the line in the Javanese prose version and makes the further inference that the insertion is purely North Indian and is due to the amplificatory methods of the Pauranikas. He concludes: "This suggestion receives corroboration from a further fact that the *valayas* are a more common feature of North India than of the South or indeed any other part of India, and so a surreptitious attempt made while expounding the text to a devout but illiterate audience, to bring the old epic into line with prevalent manners is quite imaginable." He examines similarly two other accretions, one of which he ascribes to the south in a very old manuscript, and comes to the general conclusion that these defects notwithstanding the older Nāgari manuscripts have great importance to a critical edition of the epic. He hopes that a careful collation of all the available Dēvanāgari manuscripts would enable him to get at "the text older—and possibly better—than even Nilakanta's." So far no doubt this is very promising work. But the line of argument adopted in respect of the first accretion seems open to criticism, and another inference seems possible on the basis of the facts supplied. The note in the margin, it is possible, was due to the rectification of an omission, unless the priority of this manuscript to all others containing the line should be placed by other evidence beyond doubt. It may be possible to settle a question like this if we should light upon important dated MSS. or dateable verses of the Mahabharatha. If a manuscript of the Tamil version of the Mahabharatha of Perundēvanar could be discovered it might prove a very much more important auxiliary perhaps than even the Javanese version. Even the later Perundēvanar's Bharatha Venba might prove to be useful. We hope that these will be put into requisition in due course as they become available.

Mahanarayana Upanishad.

BY DR. ROBERT ZIMMERMANN, Ph. D., ST. XAVIER'S COLLEGE, BOMBAY.
 (OTTO HARROSSOWITZ, LEIPZIG).

WE are indebted to the author of this volume for the kindly gift of a copy of the same to us. It is, as its secondary title suggests, a critical study of the sources of the Māhanārāyana Upanishad and its different Recensions. The Māhanārāyana Upanishad forms, as is well-known, with Katha, Isa, Svetasvatara and Mundaka, a class by itself. It is, like these, a metrical Upanishad and not a prose one. In it, as in the others we have named, we find the Upanishad doctrine finally become fixed. From a literary point of view also it is attractive in form. For these reasons, the Upanishad has a value which cannot be denied. Students of Sri Ramanuja's *Sri Bhashya* know what a careful study he had made of this Upanishad. We find him quoting it in his commentaries. Dr. Zimmermann's study of the text and its sources is, therefore, a welcome one, the more so as the great pains he has taken in getting it up has made it a thoroughly scholarly one. Prepared originally as his inaugural dissertation for attaining the Doctor's Degree of Friedrich Wilhelme's University at Berlin, it bears the impress of careful collation and guarded writing. We have no space here to go into details but all the same we feel we should say a few words as to the lines on which the work has been done, if for nothing at least for showing how a work of this kind should be done. As a model, Dr. Zimmermann's essay is a perfect one. After a brief preface, in which Weber's work is referred to with appreciation, we have a list of texts and works made use of. These are set down under (A) MSS. about the Upanishad and (B) Texts. Under the former come (1) MSS. of the Dravidian Recension, (2) MSS. of the Andhra Recension, (3) MSS. of the Atharvana Recension, and (4) MSS. of Apām Brahmanam. Under the head of (B) texts come Samhitas, Brahmanas, Āranyakas, Srautas, Sutras, Grihya Sutras, Dharma Sastras, Rig Vidhana and Mahabharata. This is enough to show how careful Dr. Zimmermann has been in studying up the sources. These lists over, we have the essay proper, which is divided into (1) sources of the Māhanārāyana Upanishad and (2) the dissertation proper. The former includes a collation of parallel texts of the Upanishad. Each Khanda is critically examined and parallel texts are given from other Vedic Scriptures to verses and *padas*. A note is also provided at the close of other parallels found solely in the Andhra Recension. In the dissertation we have, after preliminary remarks, the contents of the Upanishad and its sources. These are treated under different heads, such as Philosophy and Theology, Ritual, Philosophic section, etc. Then we have a note on the proportions of the Recensions under (1) Text of the Recensions, and (2) Extent of the Recensions.

We have left ourselves little place for the consideration of the dissertation. We are glad, however, that it is a part that should not be retailed here but should be read first hand in the author's own words.

If each of the Upanishads is treated in the manner Dr. Zimmermann has treated the Mahānārāyana, we should certainly be nearer the day when the study of the Upanishads could be made to yield the best possible results to us.

The book is dedicated to the author's brother Otto Zimmermann and is, we may add, well worthy of the great love brought to bear on its production by the author.

We should be glad to see an English translation of this German essay. Books written in German do not reach the people they should in India. The study of foreign languages is still in its infancy in this country and so much that would otherwise attract wide attention in India is now largely unknown in it. It is to be hoped that German scholars will, as Professor Max Müller invariably did, elect to write in English and that Indians generally will learn more largely German to keep abreast of current research.

C.H.R.

Report of the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Burma,

For the year ending 31st March 1920.

WE are told that outside help is absolutely necessary for a Government officer to combine epigraphical with archaeological work and our own experience confirms this view. It is to be hoped that it will not be long before an adventurous student takes up a Government Archaeological Scholarship and assists in exploration work in our own State.

The Part II of the report gives interesting information regarding the Tilo-Miulo temple, the relations of Burma with Ceylon and the Malaya Peninsula in the 11th and 12th centuries, the discoveries of the New Talaing inscriptions in Pegu, a 14th century Burmese inscription in the Kyaukse District and other archaeological finds. In page 13, four large stone receptacles found at Hmawza are dealt with. 'Each of them consists of pieces; the lower most is a basin, 2 feet 2 inches from the rim to the bottom on the outside and 1 foot from the rim to the flat bottom from inside; diameter 2 feet 3 inches; the other two pieces are stone rings one over another above the basin and fitting nicely into each other by a rebate cut in them: height of 2 upper rings is 1 foot 8 inches; thus total height from the outside is 5 feet 6 inches. These four receptacles form the corners of a quadrilateral of about 20 feet on each side. The popular belief points to their being the site of a tomb of Queen Peikthano, the wife of the legendary king Duttabaung. We have our own receptacles and who can say what they were really intended for ?

In page 17 the symbolism of pagodas is referred to. No special symbolism was attached to them in the Northern school and they were ignored by the Southern school. China and Nepal have an elaborate symbolism of all parts of the pagoda. In building the Great stupa in Ceylon, according to the Mahavamsa, the master

builder, on being asked by the king in what form he was going to make the famous building, took water in his hand and let it fall on the surface of water ; a great bubble arose like a half-globe ; ' like this will I make it ' said he. Does the bubble represent the dome on the terraces or the fleeting character of the varieties of this world ?

In plate II is found an illustration of Buddha seated in European fashion. The other illustrations are also neatly executed. Then come several appendices with which the report closes.

S.S.

Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle,

For the year ending 31st March 1919.

CONCLUSIONS of Mr. Kanwar Singh, Principal of the Lahore College, on the origin and character of the Qutb Minar at Delhi are mentioned and described in pages 7 to 11. It is said that the only part of Mr. Kanwar Singh's theory (that Qutb Minar was originally a Hindu Memorial being added to and enlarged by certain Afghan Kings) that finds corroboration from the inscriptions on the Minar and the Iron Pillar is that relating to its character *viz.*, that instead of being a Mazina, it must be a ' pillar of fame '.

The temples of Katas in the Salt Range, Murti in the valley of the Katas Nala, Baghanwall, Rohtak, containing the images of Ganesa, Balarama, Sarasvati, Sun-god, Santinatha and Parsvanatha are noticed in the report. Several mounds in Kurukshetra are said to mark important spots mentioned in the Mahabharata to wit Raja Karna-ka-kila. So far for the Punjab.

Then in the U. P., Garhwal, Soron, Sarnath which yielded interesting sculptures including a few valuable Saiva images were visited. The report closes with a note on unpublished inscriptions in the Central Museum at Lahore. It is a record of good and diligent work done in the year.

S.S.

**Annual Report of the Archæological Department,
Southern Circle,
Madras, for 1919-20.**

THIS is a report with which we are more intimately connected. Seven Pagodas, Tirukkalikkunram, Kilmavilangi in the Tindivanam Taluk, Bezwada, Mogalrajapuram, 3 miles east of Bezwada, Panamalai (S. Arcot), Tiruvadavayil (Tanjore District), Ghantasalai Kishna, Chandragiri, Hampi Ruins, Sidhout Fort (Cudda-

pah), Gingee and other places were visited, and information gleaned from new inscriptions, not many, is published. Attention may be called to the Buddhist remains on the hills near Salihundam in the Chicacole Taluk of the Ganjam District. 'The top of the hill is crowned with a group of ruined brick stupas and on the eastern slope is a fine specimen of an apsidal-ended brick Chaitya containing a large broken plaster image of Buddha. Date suggested is 700 A.D. For further details, reference may be made to page 35 of the report. The Sculptures belong to the Mahayana School of Buddhism and may be attributed to the 9th century. Marichi is a beautiful work of art.

S.S.

Introduction to the Message of the XXth Century.

By P. N. GOUD, M.A., B.Sc. (EDIN.).

MR. GOUD believes that he is the bearer of "The Message of the XXth Century". His work is an introduction to it "containing a new method for the systematic interpretation of the Vedas and experimental data proving that the Vedas are treatises on the exact sciences". External and internal evidence as to the nature of the Vedas and evidence from Vedantic and other branches of philosophy are brought forward to support the new interpretation of the Riks. Over 40 passages are taken from the Vedas and are explained so as to give a meaning entirely different from that usually accepted by Indian and European commentators. It is unfortunately a fact that Vedic texts are capable of being broken up into words which often convey different and even contradictory meanings. That is why the interpretations of well-known authorities, such as Sayana, are accepted by all Vedic scholars. Sayana, the brother of Sri Vidyaranya, flourished about the middle of the 14th century. He was connected with the court of Bukka and Harihara of the Vijayanagar Empire and prepared the Veda Bhashya *i.e.*, commentaries on the Veda, with the help of renowned Sanskrit scholars who were attracted to Vijayanagar through the fame and generosity of Vidyaranya from all parts of India, especially from Kashmir. If anybody was competent to unearth any hidden meanings of Vedic texts, it was Sayana but his Bhashya does not show even traces of any tradition of the Vedas being treatises on Physics and Chemistry. It was apparently reserved for Mr. Goud and those who think with him in this XXth Century, to give new meanings for old Riks. Mr. Goud has no compunction in disavowing the interpretations of Sayana and bringing forward new versions to support the theory that the Vedas are treatises on Physical sciences.

The Devas are taken to be agents of nature—chemical reagents and physical energies—for the elucidation of which the Rishies were engaged in the performance of Yagnas *i.e.*, experiments, in much the same way as our modern scientists. It is assumed that the Rishies who taught the Vedas were of two grades, the esoteric and exoteric. It was the former only that knew and taught the real meaning of the Vedas to a few of their deserving disciples. This esoteric meaning is said to

be unknown to the modern commentators who are believed to go against the rules of Vedic grammar and common sense and logical reasoning as well. The Vedas, according to the author, are not written in the 'laukika' the ordinary language and ought not to be taken in their apparent meaning as in the case of ordinary books. Even the common meaning of the word 'dharma' as all that constitutes one's duty, is rejected in favour of the sense of its being the sum-total of natural laws. The Yajurveda is regarded as a laboratory guide and the Rigveda as containing 'theorems and experiments'. A 'Sastra' is a "prescription in connection with an experiment." The stories in the Bharata and other Puranas are interpreted as supporting the author's views on the Vedas. The Bhagavadgita is also brought in to suit the assumptions of the author and the ordinary and appropriate meaning of 'karma' is rejected in favour of "scientific research". Sri Krishna is made to direct us "to be engaged in scientific research throughout our lives". And the extraordinary statement is made that "it is only by this process that we shall be able to cut off the bonds of samsara".

The following are some of the assumptions made by the author. Agni (and subsequently Varuna also) is supposed to be Oxygen; Prithvi and Vishnu, Ozone; Vayu and Mitra, Hydrogen; Indra, Electricity; Rudras, radiations from radio-active matter; the Aswins, Cathode and Anode rays. Mythology is merely "the history of the Devas": "it is the symbolic representation of important scientific experiment". Ashta-dikpala, by an ingenious juggling with words, is taken to mean the Periodic Table of elements given by Mendeleef. Vedic and Vedantic scholars usually accept Agni and Prithvi to be two of the five elements (Pancha Bhutas), the one appealing to the sense of sight and the other to smell. In his own inimitable way and by the use of grammatical legerdemain, Mr. Goud has convinced himself "that the two terms are used as synonyms. What then could Prithvi be if not Ozone, which unlike Oxygen, has a strong unpleasant smell? Further, Vishnu is often praised in terms, such as 'you are Prithvi' and 'you are Agni'. We therefore take Agni=Oxygen and Prithvi=Vishnu=Ozone". One is tempted to exclaim, how simple and how convincing! We may also refer any curious reader to pages 140 to 147 as an example of the way in which the required meanings, for the preparation of Oxygen from Potassium Chlorate, are read into the Riks. One example more must suffice. Aswamedha Yagna is said to be "no other than a grand experiment in which X-ray bulb plays a most important part". In a footnote on page 194 Mr. Goud says that this Yagna was recommended to be performed by barren women for obtaining children. If this is so, it is in direct opposition to the modern experience that workers who come into frequent contact with X-rays are rendered sterile, on account of the destructive influence exerted by X-rays on ova and spermatozoa.

That the ancient Hindus were well acquainted with positive sciences, such as Physics, Chemistry, etc., is well known from the researches of Dr. Brojendranath Seal, Sir P. C. Ray and others. The authorities they mention are not the Riks of the Vedas but works like Nagarjuna's "Lohasastra", Varahamihira's "Brihat

Samhita", Vignanabhikhu's "Pravachana Sutras," etc. The Hindus had a good knowledge of the conservation, transformation and dissipation of energy, atoms, elements and compounds, chemical analysis and synthesis, preparation of chemical compounds, hardening of steel, manufacture of cements, composition of dyes cosmetics and perfumery, etc., Vasavadatta of the sixth century speaks of the various preparations of Mercury. Vrinda of the eleventh century alludes to the preparation of Sulphide of Mercury. *Rasaratnasamuchchaya* gives details of the processes of calcination, distillation, sublimation and other chemical processes. We need do nothing more than merely mention the Hindu concepts on animal and plant life, classification of animals and plants, and ideas on Biology and Physiology. These are referred to by Charaka and Susruta and in the later commentaries or works by Chakrapani, Sridhara, Udayana and Vaghbata. The achievements of the Hindus in Mathematics and Astronomy (not to speak of Astrology), are well known and acknowledged and therefore need no further reference.

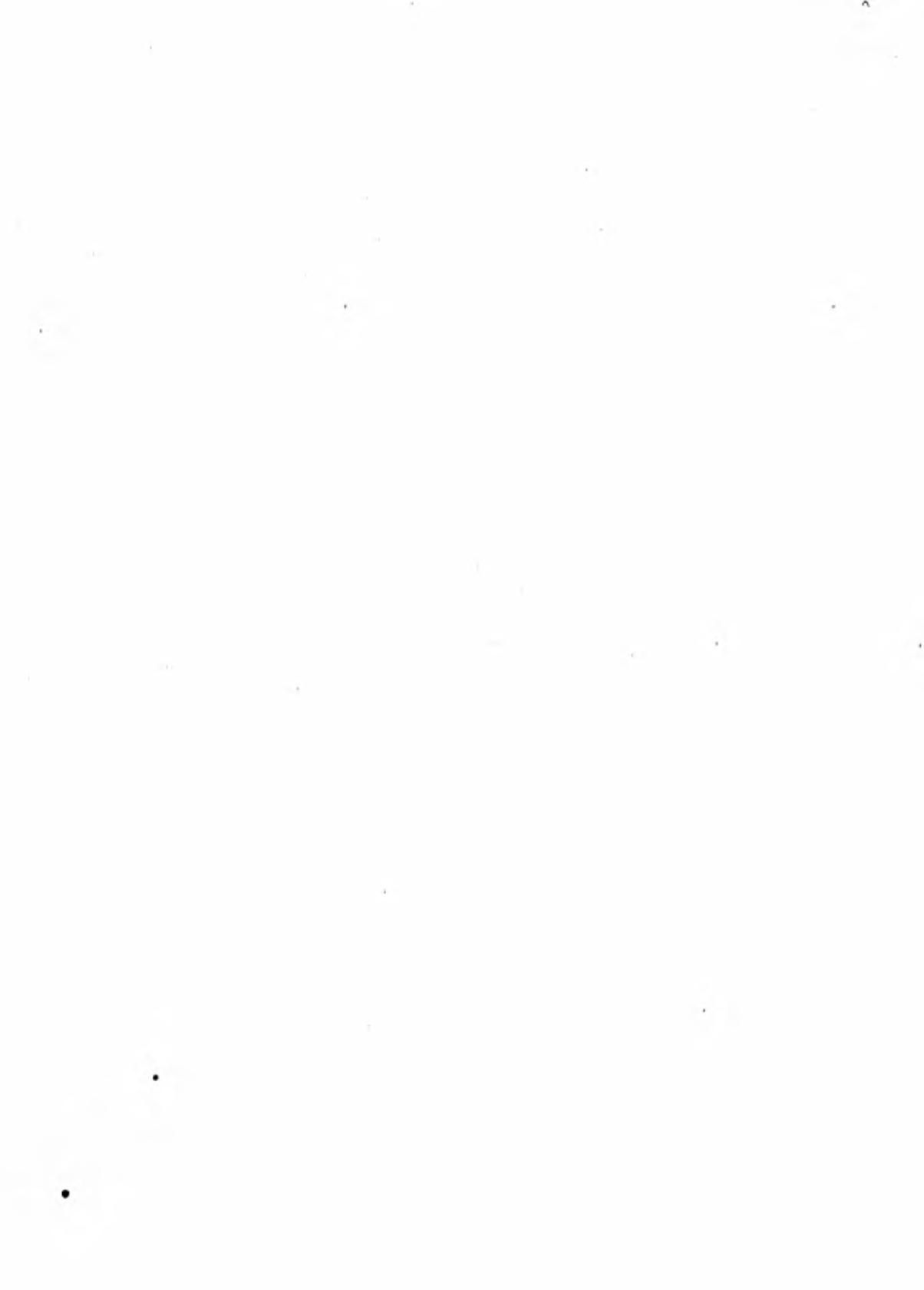
We are quite willing to admit that the ancient Hindus had various Astras for use in war. But the sciences which had to do with the preparation of these munitions of war and with the training of men in their use, had nothing to do with the three Vedas. Whether the sciences which dealt with Astras are extant at the present day, is a different question altogether and need not detain us here.

No one can find fault with us for being proud of the past achievements of the Hindus, in the regions of science and philosophy, but the laboured process adopted by Mr. Goud of finding a counterpart in the Vedas of the facts of modern Physical Sciences, will justly make us the laughing stock of all sane men. If our memory serves us right, a book was published some years ago, in which an attempt was made to show that the Riks dealt with Geological facts. Such a work could not and in fact did not achieve any notable success. Not one of the scholars to whom it was sent, had a word to say in its favour. We are afraid that the present work under review will share the same fate.

It is some comfort to know from Mr. Goud that the Vedas are not *all* treatises on Physical sciences. He is good enough to admit that "they also contain an abridged science of Self" and that "the higher knowledge is that by which the Indestructible (Brahman) is apprehended". We may also perhaps feel thankful for the moderation shown by Mr. Goud in not finding in the Vedas any counterpart of Einstein's Theory of Relativity.

Mr. Goud's message will not appeal to all men, but those types of mind who seek to show that the ancient Hindu civilization is superior in all respects to the present one, may find in this book the kind of mental pabulum in which they delight.

M.S.





TUNKA (Sacred Banner)
From a Buddhist Temple in Nepal

Presented to the Mythic Society by W. M. Briggs, Esq.

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THE BIRTHPLACE OF BUDDHA.

(*A Paper read before the Mythic Society.*)

BY THE REV. A. M. TABARD, M.A., M.R.A.S.

IT has been suggested to me, in connection with my visit to Buddha's birthplace in February 1920, that I should give the members of the Mythic Society the benefit of my experiences and also of the studies which enabled me to enjoy a tour which it has been the privilege of very few to undertake.

At the outset I may remark that for many years I have gathered information and documents bearing on Buddhism, a subject fascinating to every student of history. Some day, perhaps, I may write a book which will, if I am right, throw a new light on the many points of contact between Christianity and Buddhism. This, by the way, is not a promise. I mention it simply to explain why I have availed myself of every possible opportunity to visit the places which might help me if ever my scheme materialises : Kapilavastu, the capital of the Sakyas, the Lumbini Gardens where the Teacher was born, Bôdhi Gaya where he became the Buddha, Sarnath where he first "turned the wheel" and Kusinagara where he entered Nirvana.

I have also visited Sanchi where I studied sculptures which give a pretty good idea of the belief of primitive Buddhism and Kanheri where I saw

the disposition and arrangements of a Buddhist Monks' settlement in the first century of our era.

All those places, except Kapilavastu and the Lumbini Gardens, being in British territory, are easy of access, but not so the Sakya capital or Buddha's birthplace. These two have then been the last I was able to visit and that not without a certain amount of difficulty.

The first was where to look for them. Beyond the fact that they were somewhere in the Nepal Terai I knew nothing of their geography. Sir John Marshall, very kindly came to my assistance and sent me not only a detailed programme of my intended tour, but also all the literature available on the subject.*

To him I am indebted for my dream becoming a reality and it is a pleasure for me to gratefully acknowledge the fact here. It was his directions which made it possible for me to reach those two famous places and I owe it to the books he sent me to have been able to do it in an intelligent way.

Another difficulty was the fact that Nepal is a *forbidden land*. No European is allowed to cross the border without a special permission from the Nepal Durbar. The Hon'ble Mr. H. V. Cobb, British Resident in Mysore, graciously undertook to obtain it for me, but it was granted only after the Nepal Durbar had satisfied themselves that my object was not commercial, religious or political but only to study *in situ* places of antiquarian interest.

At Gorakhpur, U.P., I provided myself with an interpreter. Wires were sent to the station masters at Uska Bazaar and Nowgarh which elicited the reply of the French to the Germans at Verdun : *on ne passe pas* : "it is impossible to cross over to Nepal from either of these two stations, as no conveyances can be had and no one knows the way." With some misgivings with regard to the ultimate issue of my adventure I resolved to try my luck and to get through in spite of all warnings to the contrary.

The Bengal and North Western Railway took me as far as Nowgarh where I managed to get two country carts, the only conveyance available. The cartmen assured me that they knew the way and though, even at the last moment, the station master did his best to dissuade me from my undertaking, I trusted myself to them hoping that indeed they knew where Rummindai was and that they would take me there all right.

They did not disappoint me and we reached the border in safety a little beyond Dhula House. The road for about 20 miles as far as that estate is

* This Paper which lays no claim to originality is based mostly on "Monograph on Buddha Sakyamuni's Birthplace by A. Führer, Ph. D., and an article on the Rummindai Inscription by Vincent A. Smith in the *Indian Antiquary*, pages 1 to 4 in Vol. XXXIV."

fairly good but after Dhula, the rest of the journey is across cultivated fields, streams and nullas, where there is not even a cart-track.

The frontier between British India and the Nepal Terai is purely artificial being marked by built-up brick pillars at an interval allowing one pillar to be seen from the other. The country is low-lying, cultivated in parts and in other parts covered with jungle. The first range of the Himalayas is, as far as I could judge, about 50 miles away.

Geographically the Terai seems to belong to India but the people are of the Mongolian type though perhaps not quite so pronounced as is the case with the inhabitants of the Hills. I was struck with their intense national feeling ; they are proud of being Nepalese and not Indians. Their civilization is still in a primitive stage though in some respects the villages I saw in Nepal resemble very much Indian villages. Another remarkable fact is that their religion is Hinduism and when questioned by me they seemed to know nothing of Buddha or of his birthplace. They expressed a great surprise at my having travelled so far simply to see *that* Rummindei Pillar.*

The first Nepalese village I met is called Baghwānpur, three miles across the border and there I had to show my "Pass" and was provided with ponies and an escort which accompanied me to Rummindei and Kapilavastu.

Rummindei is the traditional birthplace of Buddha, the Lumbini Gardens of the Buddhist Stories. There stands the Pillar erected by Asoka on the very spot where Maya was delivered of her son with an inscription commemorating the great Emperor's visit to this hallowed spot.

To reach it from Baghwānpur, I rode about two miles to the north and through a village called Pañariyā, the nearest inhabited village to the inscribed Pillar.

About a mile to the north of Pañariyā, a large mound now cultivated, about two furlongs in length from east to west and one furlong in breadth from north to south, marks the site of a small ancient town with tanks on the west and south. The Rummindei mound of ruins, on the west side of which the Pillar stands, is about 500 feet to the north of this site and is consequently more than a mile distant from the village of Pañariyā.

The vicinity of Pañariyā and the mound where the Pillar stands made Professor Pischel in a Paper published in 1903 call the inscription inscribed on the Pillar, "the Pañeriyā inscription." Vincent A. Smith has showed that this appellation is doubly erroneous. Pañeriyā should be Pañariyā or Pañariyā and the inscription should be called after Rummindei. This view had already

* One thought which struck me most forcibly was that, were another Buddha to appear again in the same locality, I can hardly imagine he would find disciples among the descendants of the Sakyas of old, so indifferent did they seem to me to any religious ideal,

been adopted by Bühler in his "Additions and corrections" in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, 1898-99, page 6, and has ever since been followed by all other savants.

There are very good reasons to assert that this mound might have been an excellent site for the location of a village in these regions of dull level plains. The tanks are another indication to locate the village which now goes by the name of Rupadei, because of a shrine built in honour of the goddess of the same name, situate at a distance of about forty-five feet to the east of the Pillar.

The name Rummindei appears to be not unique. Babu P. C. Mukherji's sketch map of Antiquities in the Terai, plate 1, shows a village 'Rummin-dei' about twenty-four miles towards west-by-south from the place where the inscribed Pillar is. That may give an indication of the stretch of the ancient Lumbini district.

As regards the fact how Lumbini, or Lummini, as given in ceremonial books, such as the Lalitavistāra, Divyāvadhāna, and Nidānkatha came to be changed into Rummindei, it is easy to account for; as the change from *l* into *r* is a very common one, and *dei*, which is but another form of *dev* or deity has been added on account of the goddess who is now worshipped there. Dr. Führer who was the fortunate discoverer of this memorable Pillar says, "It is a curious fact that the true meaning of this ancient Buddhistic name has long been forgotten, as the present Nepalese officials believe the word to signify the *Sthan* of Rupadevi. A small, modern, mean-looking temple dedicated to that Goddess was a few years ago erected by a Saiva ascetic on the top of one of the ruined stupas, and an interesting nearly life-size stone image of Māyādevi, extracted from the ruins, has been set up as the tutelar deity for the worship of the purely Hindu population. The sculpture represents Mahāmāya in a standing position bringing forth the infant Buddha from her right side, the child being received by the four guardian gods of the quarters. Unfortunately the free application of oil and *sindur* by worshippers has almost destroyed all minor details, and as the image is kept in a deep dark *cella*, it is impossible to get a photograph or even a drawing of it. Besides the four ruined stupas mentioned by Hieun Tsiang, as well as the bathing tank of the Sakyas and the two fountains and the well mentioned by the two Chinese pilgrims are there. Even "the river of oil" still flows past the ruins bearing the modern name *Tillar Nadi*, the metallic lustre of it gives it an oily appearance". It is again a question of two religions meeting or even stranger still, of one supplanting the other with the very materials which had gone to build it up before it disappeared or came to be vanquished. There are many such instances in India and also elsewhere; temples of pagan Rome have been used for Christian worship, and

in Constantinople the great Christian Basilica, St. Sophia, has been for centuries a Mahomedan mosque.

The name Lumbini itself (place of liberation) has not so far been satisfactorily explained though, according to some Northern texts, it is said to have been derived from that of the queen of Suprabuddha, the king of Koli, or Vyagrapura, who were the parents of Mahamaya, the mother of Gautama Buddha. Both the Chinese travellers visited the place, and have left some description of it. Fa-hien says "50 *li* (a *li* being equal to about $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a mile) east from the city of Kapilavastu was a garden, named Lumbini, where the queen entered the pond and bathed." The pond may be one of the two tanks mentioned before. Hieun Tsiang says he travelled to the Lafani or Lavani (the Lumbini) garden. He also makes mention of the bathing tank of the Sakyas, and curiously enough speaks of the asoka tree which he then saw in a decaying condition as being the place where the Bodhisatva was born. It is curious indeed that such a painstaking student of religion should tell us that the Buddha was born under an asoka tree when all the Buddhist legends agree that it was a sal tree. In the Buddhist books of religion we find that the Lambinivana was a pleasure garden planted with sal trees situate between Kapilavastu the capital of the Sakyas and Devadaha the capital of the Kolyas or Kodyas. Such must have been the charm and extent of the place, that it was claimed and owned by the inhabitants of both cities. The Master who owned a Kodya mother and Sakya father could not have chosen for his birth a place better than this.

The discovery of this important site has something romantic about it. In June 1896 Dr. Führer applied to the Khatmandu Durbar for an exploration being made of the ruins near Nigliva as far as Baghwānpur, fifteen miles east-south-east of Taulihva, where he had learned another pillar bearing a supposed Asoka inscription was still standing.

At the end of November 1896 he set out on a second journey to Nigliva in order to meet general Khadga Shamsher, the governor of the Terai, to superintend the contemplated excavations around Buddha Konagamana's Nirvana Stupa near the banks of the Nigali Sagar.

This second visit of Dr. Führer to Nigliva, by a lucky chance, brought him to a village near Paḍariyā, as General Khadga Shamsher, who had to arrange everything for the learned doctor, was camping there at that time.

Close to the General's camp, near the debris of four stupas, stood a slightly mutilated pillar, rising about 10 feet above the ground, and with many records of pilgrims' visits, one of which was incised about 700 A.D. On digging away the accumulated debris it proved to be an Asoka monolith 22'-4" high, standing on a masonry platform, and bearing, about 9'-8"

from its base, a well-preserved inscription of the Mauryan period in five lines. The Pillar tapers slightly, as its circumference is at the base 8'—3", near the inscribed portion 7'—5" and at the top 6'—6". At an equal distance of 18 inches all round the base of the Pillar, runs a square brick railing of 5'—9", and 2'—10" high.

A homeric battle of argumentation has raged over the Pillar's original position, the probability of its having been shifted to the place where it now stands, the meaning of the inscription and the kind of capital which once surmounted it.

I will touch but lightly on each of those points with the help of my own observations at the time of my visit.

The column has been split by lightning, and the upper part is missing. At the base it is surrounded, at the distance of a foot and a half from the shaft, by a wall, the lower courses of which are composed of very large ancient bricks, while the upper courses are built of smaller and more modern bricks. In Vincent Smith's preface to Mukherji's Report, it is remarked that "the Pillar, which was prostrate in the seventh century, may have been set up again by one of the Buddhist Pala kings in the eleventh or twelfth century". Professor Pischel takes exception to this remark, for the reasons that the Pillar has never been removed from its place and that there is no trace of damage or subsequent repair to its lower part. He therefore prefers to suppose that the Pillar, after being struck by lightning, was underpinned, but not, in any other sense set up again. The discrepancies in the translations of Hiuen Tsiang's account raise some doubt as to the actual condition of the Pillar when seen by the pilgrim in the seventh century, that is to say, there is a doubt as to whether the whole Pillar was then lying on the ground or only the upper portion of it. According to Beal (Si-yu-ki, II. 25), "it was broken off in the middle, and fell to the ground," which rendering suggests that only the upper segment fell. Julien represents the column itself as prostrate, and translates "*cette colonne git à terre, brisée par le milieu.*" The standing portion of the shaft has never been excavated right down to the base, and if Julien's version is correct, it still seems to me possible that the whole column fell and was set up again. If such an event happened, the restorer is more likely to have been one of the Pala kings than anybody else.

Dr. Führer says with good reason that the inscription on the Pillar shows that it was first erected on the identical spot where Buddha was born. No adverse criticisms can shake the evidence of the repeated assertion: "Here Buddha Sakyamuni was born," and, "Here the Blessed One was born," corroborated by the mention of Lumminigāma, which agrees with the Pali Lumbinīgāma and the Sanskrit Lumbinivana. This

Pillar, therefore, marks the identical spot which was pointed out as the birthplace of Buddha to Asoka by the Sthavira Upagupta, the Buddhist patriarch. The evidence of this inscription could only be set aside if it were shown that the Pillar had been removed from some other place to its present position, which is an *a priori* improbable assumption; but there is collateral evidence to prove that it is still standing on its original site. We have seen above that Hiuen Tsiang, who visited the Lumbini garden in about A. D. 636, mentions the Pillar as standing close to four stupas, the ruins of which are still visible. He further says that the Pillar was originally surmounted with a horse-capital, which was afterwards sundered from it by the machinations of a wicked dragon. This exactly agrees with the facts observed by me; the capital is wanting and a small portion of the upper part of the Pillar immediately below it, which actually seems to have been split off by a stroke of lightning, which the Buddhists ascribe to the anger of the Nagas, called "dragons" by the Chinese. The horse-capital undoubtedly lies buried under the surrounding ruins, and may on excavation turn up in a well-preserved state. If Hiuen Tsiang omits to mention the inscription, the reason is no doubt that it was covered at the time of his visit by an accumulation of debris, and that all knowledge of its existence had been lost. As stated already, when the Pillar was first seen on the 1st December 1896, only a small portion, ten feet high, was above the ground and was covered with pilgrims' records, one of which is dated about A.D. 700. This piece must, therefore, have been accessible and the surface of the ground must have been at the present level for nearly eleven hundred years. When the excavation of the Pillar was *afterwards undertaken*, the Asoka record was found three feet below the surface of the soil and 9'-8" above the base of the Pillar. It is evident that the Asoka inscription must have been covered over with rubbish in about A.D. 700, which circumstance explains also its present perfect state of preservation. It seems almost impossible that three feet of debris could have been accumulated in the sixty-four years which elapsed between the date Hiuen Tsiang's visit and the incision of the oldest pilgrims' record at the top.

At the time of my visit I saw a number of gold leaves stuck on the Pillar by devout pilgrims from Ceylon to mark their reverence. People have not as yet begun to stream in numbers, though in the course of some years with extended facilities, and the knowledge of the discovery of this Pillar spread in distant countries where Buddhism, in one form or another, is the prevailing religion may, as is anticipated by Dr. Führer, make this sacred spot a favourite place of pilgrimage for all devout Buddhists of the world as it was of yore. I was told that not long before my visit some Japanese had

presented themselves at Baghwānpur, but as they were not provided with a pass the pilgrims had not been allowed to proceed to Rummindēi.

We come now to the inscription which runs as follows:—

Text of the Rummindēi Inscription.

1. Devāna-Piyena Piyadasina lājina vīsativasābhositena.
2. Atana-Āgācha mahīyite hida Budhe jāte Sakyamuni ti.
3. Sila-Vigadabhi-cha kālāpita silāthabhe-cha usapāpīte.
4. Hida-Bhagavam-jāte-ti Lumminigāme ubalike-kate.
5. Athabhāgiye-cha.

Here is a translation by Dr. Führer, which I am not quite prepared to accept after reading the learned dissertation of Mr. V. A. Smith and Dr. Fleet, a précis of which I will also place before you:—

Translation by Dr Fuhrer.

"King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, (or dear to the gods) having been anointed 20 years, came himself and worshipped saying, "Here Buddha Sakyamuni was born" and he caused to be made a stone (capital) representing a horse; and he caused (this) stone pillar to be erected. Because here the Worshipful One was born, the village of Lummini has been made free of taxes and a recipient of wealth."

Of all the Asokan records, nothing has offered so many difficulties as some of the words of this inscription. Many an interpretation has been tendered with a vehemence which is but equalled by its ingenuity.

Dr. Fleet writes most learnedly on the particular meaning to be given to the word, *mahīyite* occurring in the 2nd line of the text. In the translation given above, it is taken to mean "worshipped". But, as Dr. Fleet says, if we give it the meaning 'was honoured,' or 'honour was done,' and in Sanskrit classics there are many instances to prove that it bears such an interpretation, then the whole meaning of the text is altered as Asoka cannot have done 'worship' at the Lumbinivana unless he was a Buddhist. And whatever may be the apparent purport and bearing of certain statements in the Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa, his records make it certain that he had not become a Buddhist when he visited Lummini on the 21st year after his anointment to the sovereignty: they make it clear that it was only about the middle of the thirtieth year that he was converted to Buddhism, and became a Buddhist disciple or lay worshipper.

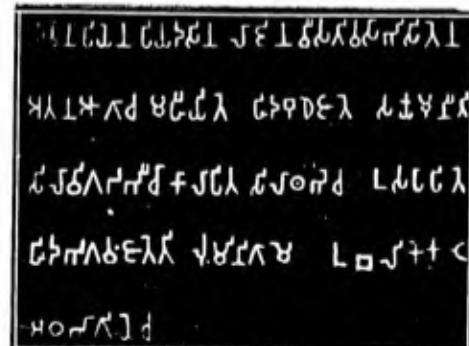
In the 3rd line the difficult word is *vigadabhi* which is not known to occur elsewhere and has been variously interpreted as 'horse,' 'she-ass,' 'big sun,' 'railing' or 'enclosure.'



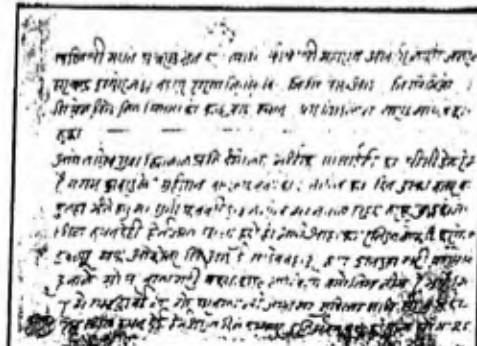
THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR WITH THE AUTHOR STANDING BESIDE IT.



THE PILLAR WITH THE HINDU SHRINE.



THE RUMMINDEI INSCRIPTION.



THE NEPAL DURBAR'S PERMIT.



Prof. Pischel thinks that there are sound reasons for rejecting all these versions, and translates *vigadabhi* as an adjective meaning, 'flawless,' or without defect qualifying '*sila*,' 'stone.' He argues that *vigadabhi* should be analysed into *vigada+bhi*, the second element being the *taddhita* suffix *bha* in the feminine. V. A. Smith explains that this suffix may be appended to a word without affecting its meaning; as, for example, *sthūlabha* and *gudabha* are alternative forms of *sthūla* and *guda*. *Gada* means 'obstacle' or 'defect' and consequently *vigada* or *vigadabha* should mean the converse, 'free from defect.' *Gadaka* and *Gandaka* are alternative forms of *Gada* and *Ganda*—Saila or Sila is the technical term for a rough block of stone, with all its defects, detached from the quarry. A *viganda-saila* or *sila* should therefore be the opposite, namely, a block from which all defects and asperities have been removed. *Vigada* may also be regarded as equivalent to *vigalita* in form and to *nigala* in meaning, the latter word signifying 'faultless.' Hence the clause *sild̄ vigadabhīchā kālāpitā silathabhe cha usāpāpīte*, simply means that Asoka caused a faultless block of stone to be prepared, and from it had a stone pillar made, which he erected. Professor Dr. Bühler as quoted by Dr. Führer translates "and he caused to be made a stone bearing a big sun," and explains *vigadabhi* with the Sanskrit *vikatābhṛt*, and says, "A stone slab having a large representation of the sun, might have been put up in the Lumbini garden, in order to indicate that Sakya Muni claims to be *arkabandu* or *ādityabandhu*, a scion of the solar race of Ikshvaku." All these are discussed by R. G. Bhandarkar who (JBBRAS, 20. 366 note 14) is of opinion that the phrase *silāvigadabhīchā* must mean an enclosure or railing made of stone, an interpretation which Dr. Fleet fully endorses giving it as his considered opinion, that the phrase must mean "a stone wall which is an enclosure and screen."

The etymology of this much discussed word is of course a matter for linguistic experts of whom I am not one, but in my opinion when experts do not agree the best course is to go upon unimpeachable records. Hieun Tsiang testifies that the figure of a horse was on the top of the Pillar, and this is my reason for preferring the meaning 'horse' to any other. It is true that the figure of horse has not yet been found, but as I have remarked before it is not improbable that some day it may be unearthed from the debris around the Pillar.

Professor Pischel's suggestion that the image was intended to represent the legendary steed Kanthaka, which Buddha rode when leaving Kapilavastu, also appeals to me.

* The Rummindēi inscription and Asoka's conversion to Buddhism, an Article by Dr. Fleet in J.R.A.S., for the year 1908, page 471.

The remaining expressions which have been the subject of controversy are two words in lines 4 and 5, which are purely fiscal terms. These are *Ubalika* and *Athabhāgya*.

Ubalika=exempt from assessment, or free of taxes, or revenue free. This is Professor Bühler's view, but Dr. Fleet on the analogy of similar words as *umbali*, *umbalige* in Kanarese, *umbala*, *umbali* in Telugu and the Tamil *umbalikkai* which mean a rent free grant as applied to a plot of land or village, gives it the same meaning by supplying the anuswara *m* to it.

In my view it comes much to the same thing whether the gift is *free of taxes* or *rent free land*. In any case we may take it that it was some tangible concession to the people who had the privilege of living in the same locality where the Great Master was born.

The most contested word, a word which has not been found in the other numerous Asokan inscriptions or edicts, occurs in line 5. To put it in brief the phrase *athabhāgiye* is composed of two words, *atha* and *bhāgya*. The first may be the prakrit form of *ashtan*, eight or of *artha* which means substance, wealth, property. If this latter view be adopted the term rendered as meaning "loaded with benefits," "a recipient of wealth," etc. If we take it that the first word means eight then the rendering should be "having eight plots granted to it." This would be, Dr. Fleet says, based on the assumption that just as we now say "sixteen annas" to denote the whole of anything, so "eight shares" may have been used in ancient times. In *Manu* it is said (7.130) that the King may take "a fiftieth share of the cattle and gold; an eighth share or a tenth or indeed a twelfth of the grains." Dr. Fleet concludes his commentary in these words: "I take it that in the time of Asoka the royal share in the grain in the district which included the village *Lummini* was one-eighth and I gather that, while this royal share would ordinarily have been reserved in the case of such privileges as those Asoka conferred, even this right was relinquished in this instance, and the village *Lummini* was made absolutely and entirely rent free as against the State."

If we accept the *artha* or wealth interpretation, we feel it gains some force from the fact that in the canonical book *Divyāvadāna*, page 390, we read that Asoka presented on his visit to the *Lummini* grove 100,000 *suvarnas* to the people of the country. But in my opinion this cannot stand against the interpretation *atha* meaning *eight*, for the reason that in a permanent record it is not likely that a King would speak of a gift made at the time of his visit. It seems more probable that in a permanent record he should make mention of a permanent gift. So I rather lean

to the theory after reading Professor Pischel's and Professor V. A. Smith's views that *artha* should be derived from *ashtan* "eight", the compound being interpreted as a technical term of revenue law. The frequent use of the term *Ashtabhōga* in inscriptions suggests that land conferred as a *Bhōgagrāma*, ordinarily was understood to carry with it eight kinds of *bhōga* or enjoyment of concessions. In this instance it may be this gift was accompanied by these concessions as is done even now on ceremonial occasions.

The translation by Dr. Fleet is as follows:—The King Dēvanāmpiya Piyadassi when he was twenty years anointed, did (this place) the honour of coming (here) in person. Because Buddha was born here, the Sakya saint, he caused a stone surrounding and screening wall to be made and a stone pillar to be set up. Because the Blessed One was born here, he made the village Lummini free of rent and entitled to the (king's) eighth share (of the grain).

The jarring note in this interpretation is the fact of the King exalting his greatness whilst on a pious pilgrimage going so far as to say that he did the sacred place an honour by paying it a visit.

This difficulty makes Professor V. A. Smith interpret the passage " His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King having come in person twenty years after his coronation, did reverence (saying) "Here Buddha was born, the sage of the Sakyas". And he caused a faultless block of stone to be prepared and set up a stone pillar (made from it) saying, "Here was the Venerable One born". And he made the village of Lummini revenue free in its entirety". I have already given my opinion that *Vigadabhi* should be taken as *horse* capital.

One difference in the translations given above is worth noticing before I pass to another topic.

The prakrit Dēvānāmpiya Piyadassi is only the Sanskrit Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsi, in English the beloved of the gods, the one who sees affectionately or one who is of gracious mien. But are those terms to be taken to signify the honorific titles of the King or should they be treated for all practical purposes as proper names not lending themselves to be translated. V. A. Smith following, as he himself admits M. Sylvain Levi, refuses to adopt the translation as suggested by the Sanskrit term, and takes the phrase as a mere formal title of Kings, meaning His Sacred and Gracious Majesty. Dr. Fleet on the other hand agreeing with Prinsep uses the appellation without translating it, as Asoka himself uses the phrase as a subsidiary personal name in all his known edicts with the exception of one lately found at Maski in Hyderabad (Deccan) where the name Asoka appears for the first and only time. My own view is that those appellations appealed to Asoka as calculated to express his state of mind even when he was inclined to adopt the creed of Buddha and

more so after he had actually become a Buddhist. The name given by his parents had an earthly aspect about it and he preferred to substitute another which clearly defined his position as an enquirer after the truth and an humble disciple of the Master.

Thus according to this newly-discovered Rummimdei Pillar Edict, Asoka went on a pilgrimage to the sacred shrines of the Buddhists situated in the extreme north of his Empire twenty years after his anointment, or in the 25th year of his reign. Very probably he visited on this occasion, as the legend in the *Divyāvadāna* (page 683 ff.) * asserts, not only the Lumbinivana, or the Lumbini Grove, but also further east Kusinārā, the site of Gautama Buddha's Parinirvāna, and Rāmagrāma, and further west Kapilavastu, the Nirvāna-stupa of Konagamana and Krakucchanda and the old town of Sravasti, in several of which localities pillars with his inscriptions were still existing in Hiuen Tsiang's time. According to the *Divyāvadāna* Sthavīra Upagupta, the fifth great teacher and Elder of the Northern Buddhist Church, was the converter and spiritual adviser of Asoka. At the request of Yasas, the Elder and Metropolitan of Pataliputra, Asoka invited Upagupta, who was at that time staying at Mathura, to come to Pataliputra, and boats were provided by the Emperor for the long river journey down the Jamna and Ganges. On his arrival, Asoka received him with due honours, saying "You who resemble the Master, you who are the sole eye of the Universe, and the chief interpreter of the Sacred Law, be my refuge, Reverend Sir, and give me your commands! I shall hasten, great sage, to obey your voice"! Upagupta replied: "O great king, the Lord, the Blessed Tathagata, has entrusted to me as well as to you the depository of the Law. Let us make every effort to preserve that which the Leader of the World has transmitted to us, when he was in the midst of his Disciples." Then the king falling at the feet of the Sthavīra Upagupta exclaimed: "This, O Sthavīra, is my desire: I wish to visit, honour, and mark by a sign for the benefit of remote posterity all the spots where the Blessed Buddha has sojourned." "Very well, O great king," replied the Sthavīra, "this thought of yours is good. I shall go this day to show you the spots where the Venerable Buddha resided." Then the Emperor equipped with a large army took perfumes, flowers, and garlands and set out in the company of the Sthavīra Upagupta, who began by conducting the king to the Lumbinivana. And extending his right hand he said to him: "Here, O great king, the Lord (Bhagavat) was born; at this site, precious to behold,

* See also Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, page 382; Mons. At Barth, in the *Journal des Savants*, February 1897, page 65 ff.; and Waddell's article Upagupta, the fourth Buddhist Patriarch and High Priest of Asoka, in *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume LXVI, Part 1, page 76 ff.

the first monument in honour of the Buddha should be consecrated!" The Emperor, after presenting one hundred thousand suvarnas (gold coins) to the people of the country, raised a stupa and retired. It would appear as if "Asoka had engraved on his Edict Pillar in the Lumbini Grove the very words Here the Worshipful One was born," which were uttered by Sthavīra Upagupta at this sacred spot. This remarkable coincidence seems to enhance the great value of the semi-historical portion of the *Divyāvadāna*.

From the Lumbini Grove to Kapilavastu one has to pass through the Nigliva village, a distance of about 13 miles north-west of Rummimdei. There is no doubt but that Asoka took that route as I saw there another inscription the wording of which shows clearly that both were incised at the same time. A Paper on the Rummimdei inscription would not be complete without some mention of the Nigliva inscription which is as follows:—

Text of the Nigliva Inscription.

1. Devānam-Piyena Piyadasina lājina chodasavasā (bhisi) tena.
2. Budhasa Konakamanasa thubē dutiyam vaḍhite.
3. (Visatava) sābhositena-cha-atana-āgācha-mahīyite.
4. (Silāthabe-cha usa) pāpīte.

Translation by Dr. Fuhrer.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, having been anointed fourteen years, increased for the second time the stupa of Buddha Konakamana; and having been anointed (twenty years) he came himself and worshipped; (and) he caused [(this) stone Pillar to be erected.]

This inscription is incised in four lines on the lower half of the mutilated lion pillar, just 10'—10" above its base. It has suffered a great deal by the fracture on the left side and some letters of the inscription are undecipherable, but, as Dr. Führer says, it is fortunate that the wording of the Rummimdei inscription makes the restoration of the lost portions easy. The statement of Hieun Tsiang that "on this (pillar) is inscribed a record of the events connected with Kanakamuni's Nirvāna" is wrong, but he is not so much to blame as he was no epigraphist. This pillar is still fixed *in situ* resting on a square masonry foundation 7 feet by 7 feet by 1, imbedded in the western embankment of the lake which takes its name after the Nigliva village. A short distance to the north-east close to the brink of the water lies the upper half of it measuring 14'—9" in length and 2' in diameter at its uppermost end 2'—6" at its lower end. The lion capital is missing, and though archæologists believe that it lies buried amongst the debris surrounding the lake and may possibly rest at the bottom of the lake's water, I rather think that it may have been removed to adorn some temple somewhere else. The pillar, says Dr. Führer, is known far and wide to the people

of the Terai under the name of Bhimasena's smoking pipe, and so the lake as well as the neighbouring village may owe their names to this popular notion. We have many instances of this kind in Mysore and in other parts of India where an epic coloring is lent to certain localities by connecting them with either the Pandava brothers or the wanderings of Rama and Sita.

This edict is also interesting as it preserves the memory of Kanakamuni, and throws some considerable light on the early belief of Buddhists in the existence of Buddhas previous to Sakyamuni Buddha. That Asoka should make mention of his having increased or enlarged the stupa for the second time shows that the monument had been erected long before his time and must have enjoyed considerable fame before the Emperor visited it. The belief in Buddhas anterior to Gautama must not only have existed, but must have also attained a high development as we find particular localities with special stupas in their honor. That Buddhism was not of yesterday's growth and had gained a respectable antiquity before the time of the Emperor is another fact that can be deduced; as also that a good portion of the Terai was then a part of the Mauryan Empire. From the traces of extensive remains which wait to be unearthed it would seem that this portion of the country was not what it is now, a hot bed of malaria, but a fertile and populous tract.

The question as regards the correct identification of * Kapilavastu, the capital city of the Sakyas, has occupied Indian Archaeologists more than sixty years and up to the discovery of the Rummindai Pillar attempts at its solution were made. Professor Dr. Lassen, in 1858, located the ruins of Kapilavastu, on geographical calculations, at a short distance to the north-west of Gorakpur on the banks of the modern Rohin Nadi, which Dr. Führer identified with the ancient Rohini; compare his *Indische Altertumskunde*, Leipzig, 1858, Volume III, page 201. To almost the same conclusions came independently Monsieur Stanislaus Julien in his *Voyages des Pelerins Bouddhistes* Volume III, page 356. The late Director of the Archaeological Survey Department. General Sir A. Cunningham, in 1863, believed to have discovered by epigraphical evidence the identity of Savasti, or Sravasti, the capital city of the Kosalas, with the deserted site known as Sêt-Mahêt near Balrampur in the Gonda district of Oudh. This identification enabled him to define also the position of Kapilavastu. As, according to the two Chinese Buddhists Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsiang, Kapilavastu lay south-east of Sravasti at a distance of about eighty miles, Sir A. Cunningham believed to recognize the town, for whose name he accepted the variant Kapilanagara, in the modern Nagar Khas in the Basti District, about 81 miles south-east of Sêt-Mahêt. He published this identification in his ancient Geography, page 414, without himself even having

* All the details have been taken from Dr. Führer's Monograph.

visited the place. Later on his Assistant, Mr. A. C. Carleyle, who explored the districts of Basti and Gorakhpur in the camping season of 1875-76, took up again the investigation, and as he could not find in Nagar Khas and its neighbourhood any traces of the magnificent monuments mentioned by the Chinese Pilgrims, he looked for Kapilavastu 18 miles further north amongst the remains at Bhuila Tal, a place studded with brick mounds and situated on the banks of the Rawai Nadi. Although Mr. Carleyle's expositions in the Archaeological Survey Reports, Volume XII, pages 83-215, and volume XXII, page 1, ff., are full of unscientific deductions and devoid of critical acumen, and although his excavations on the spot did not bring to light either inscriptions or sculptures which could support the identifications, Sir A. Cunningham, notwithstanding, after a short examination of the site, expressed his most perfect conviction of the accuracy of Mr. Carleyle's identification (see 1, c. Volume XII, pages III-IV; Volume XXII, page III). Nevertheless, that identification rested on no substantial grounds, and, in 1889, was shown by him to be erroneous on topographical and other reasons. The errors of Lassen, Julien, Cunningham and Carleyle have been caused by the vague statements of the Chinese pilgrims, who both say that in travelling from Sravasti to Kapilavastu they went south-east. As Sir A. Cunningham had identified Sravasti with Sét-Mahét, it was but natural for him to infer that Kapilavastu must lie either in the Basti or Gorakhpur district. The country of the Sakyas has thus by all been looked for too far south, as the town lay actually much further north. It may also be pointed out that its real position eighteen miles north-west of the Lumbini garden, agrees with the hints given in the Ceylonese canonical books. According to the Ambattha-sutta of the Digha-nikaya (III, I, 15), the banished sons of Ikshváku or Okkáka, the ancient seer-king, settled *yathā Himavantapassē pokharaniyā tirē mahäsäkasando*, i.e., "where there was a great grove of saka trees on the bank of a lake (situated) on the lower slopes of the Himalaya." This description fits the present ruins near the Srinagar Sagar in the Nepalese Terai much better than the absolutely flat districts of Basti or Gorakhpur which are still a great distance from the hills.

According to the canonical books of the Southern Buddhists Kapilavatthu (Kapilavastu), or Kapilapura was situated on the banks of the Rohani or Rohita, whilst the Divyāvadāna (ed. Cowell), page 348, locates the town on those of the Bhágirathi (i.e., Ganges), not far from the hermitage of Rishi Kapila. It is also narrated (Jātaka), Volume V, page 412; Theragatha, v. 529), that the river flowed between the capital of the Sakyas and Devadaha, the capital of the Kolyas. For a short time before the death of king Sudhodana there arose a dispute between the Sakyas and Kolyas about the water of

the river Rohani which, owing to an unusual drought, was not sufficient to irrigate rice-fields on both sides of the river. The quarrel rose high, and a battle would have ensued had not the Buddha, perceiving by his divine eye what was going on, hastened from Vaisali through the sky to the place where the parties stood ready to fight, and moved them to lay down their arms. The eloquent discourse which he delivered on that occasion had the desired effect that he made numerous converts. Accordingly, the ruins of Kapilavastu ought to have been discovered on the western bank of the river, and the Lumbini gardens to the east of it. This is actually the case, if we identify the modern Jamuar Nadi with the ancient river Rohani; for the vast ruins of Kapilavastu lie on its western bank, whilst the Lumbini garden, the modern Rummindai, is just to the south-east of it.

Now the discovery of the Asoka Inscription Pillar in the Lumbini Grove at Rummindai fixes with almost absolute certainty, the site of Kapilavastu and of the sanctuaries in its neighbourhood. Thanks to the exact notes left by the two Chinese travellers. Dr. Führer discovered its extensive ruins about eighteen miles north-west of the Lumbini Pillar, and about six miles north-west of the Nigali Sagar stretching between lat. $27^{\circ}32\text{-}38$ N. and long. $38^{\circ}3\text{-}10$ E. in the middle of a dense sal forest over a length of about seven miles, from the villages of Amauli, Baidauli, Harnampur, and Bikuli (north-east) to Sivagarh, Tilaurakot, and Ramghat on the Banganga (south-west), and over a breadth of about three to four miles from the villages of Rampura, Ahirauli, and Srinagar on the south to the villages of Jagdispur and Nagravah on the north. The whole site is at present as dreary and desolate as when seen by Fa Hien and Hieun Tsiang.

Dr. Führer is of opinion that every sacred spot mentioned by the two pilgrims can be easily identified. Unfortunately my stay in that locality was too short to enable me to verify his statement.

Before concluding this paper it may perhaps be not out of place to say a few words about Buddha himself.

The term Buddha means "Enlightened One," and signifies that the person to whom it is applied has solved the riddle of existence and discovered the doctrine for the cessation of misery. It was by his attainment of this supreme "Enlightenment" or Wisdom that the warrior prince Gautama became a Buddha. During the thirty-five years of his life previous to that event, and during all previous existences from the time he set out towards Buddhahood, he was a Bodhisattva—a term which, freely translated, means "Future Buddha," but which is more literally rendered "He whose essence is Wisdom." The Buddha's personal name appears to have been Siddhartha; but as the word means "Successful in his aim," it looks as though it might be a

simple epithet. The Buddha belonged to the Sakya clan. The word Sakya means "Powerful," and the families that bore the name had a reputation for pride and haughtiness; they were of the warrior caste, but cultivated the peaceful arts of agriculture. By his contemporaries the Buddha is usually called the Ascetic Gautama; it is not quite clear why he and others of his clan should bear this family cognomen in addition to the clan-name of Sakya. It may be they claimed descent from the ancient sage Gautama, to whom are attributed some of the hymns of the Rigveda—or it may be, as Burnouf has suggested, "because Gautama was the sacerdotal family name of the military race of the Sakyas who, being of the warrior caste, had no ancestor or tutelar saint like the Brahmins, but might, as the Hindu law permits, have taken the name of the sage to whose family belonged their spiritual guide." The Buddha was born a Hindu and the religion his parents professed was Saivism of the ordinary type, as the new-born child was brought to the temple where the goddess Abhaya bowed down at his feet. During his long ministry of forty-five years he wandered about from place to place in that section of the country which is known as Madhyadesa. The date of Gautama Buddha is considered to be the sixth century before Christ. It would appear that he lived to his eightieth year, and the time of his death is given by scholars as about 477 B.C.

Dr. Führer in his monograph enumerates some of the names given to the Master in Buddhist books and says that they alone would supply ample material for a complete Budhology. The list I should say is fairly exhaustive "All Pitiful, All Seeing One, Author of all Truth, Best of Men, Blessed Buddha, Blessed One, Chief of Men, Conqueror, Glorious One, Great Man, Great Elect, Great Hero, Great Sage, Great Teacher, Guiltless One, Happy One, Holy One, Leader of the World, Light of the World, Lord, Lord of all the World, Mighty Monk, Mighty Sage, Possessor of the Ten Forces, Fearless One, Radiant One, Recipient of Offerings, Reverend Sir, Saint, Seeing One, Supreme Buddha, Teacher of Gods and Men, Unrivalled Victor, Victor in the Battle, etc."

My last word will be an earnest appeal to the Nepalese Government to have systematic excavations conducted on a large scale both at Rummindie and Kapilavastu as they are sure to furnish us with documents and monuments of a period extending possibly to about the Vth and VIth Centuries B.C.

NOTE.

I am indebted to Rao Bahadur Mr. R. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.R.A.S., Director of Archaeology in Mysore, for the transliteration of the Passport from the Nepal Durbar, and to Mahámáhópadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Sastri, President, Asiatic Society of Bengal, for the translation of the same.

A. M. T.

Transliteration of the Passport.

Śrī

Chandra Sham Shēr

C. S. J.

1. Svasti śrīmad-atiprachaṇḍa-bhujadaṇḍetyādi śrī śrī śrī Mahārāja Honorary Lieutenant-General
2. Sir Chandra Sham Shēr Jung Bahādur Rānā, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., D.
3. C.L., Thong-lin-pim-mā Ko-kāng-vāṅg-syān, Prime Minister and Marshal—kasya
4. Rūkkā
5. Āge Nāyeba Subā Hirālāla-prati Bengalōra Mythic Society kā President Reve-
6. rend A. M. Tabārdale yahī san 1920 February-kō 2 tārikh kā dina Uskā Bajār vāta
7. Dulahā bhaṇnē thāu mā pugī February 3-4 tārikh mā Nēpālā sahīrad taraf Buddhakō janma-
8. sthala Rūpandēi hernu jāna pāyā hudōhō bhanī bhā hākā Resident Lieutenant Colonel
9. W. F. O'Connor, C.I.E., Sāheb Bahādur dvārā istaduvāgarī pa-thāyākō.
10. hunālē yō paravānā garī vakshekochh lēkhiyā bamōjim nija Reverend Mister.
11. A. M. Tabārdale yō paravānā lī āyā mā suvistā sātha sau Bud-dhakō ja.

Śrī

Marichi Mamasin

dhu

12-nma-sthala Rūpandēi hernu āun dinē
kāmagara
hani Samvat 1976 sāla Pausha 28
13 gate rola 29 śrī.

Translation of the Passport.

Hail ! The prosperous with terrible force of arms, etc., Sri-Sri-Sri Maharaja Honorary Lieutenant-General Sir Chandra Sham Sher Jung Bahadur Rana, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., D.C.L., Thum-lin-pim-ma, Kauwan-Shan, Prime-Minister and Marshall—his (written) order :—

To Nayeb Suba Hiralal :—Rev. A. M. Tabard, President of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, having applied through the Resident of this place, Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. O'Connor, C.I.E., Bahadur, that he would come on the 2nd of February of this year 1920 to a place named Dulha on the road from Uska Bazar and that on the 3-4 February he may be permitted to come towards the Frontier of Nepal for the purpose of seeing Rupandehi (Rummindei) the Birth-place of Buddha, we have been pleased to confer on him—this Passport according to which you are directed to throw facilities on the way of Rev. Mr. A. M. Tabard's seeing Rupandehi, the Birth-place of Buddha according to the specification in his Passport which he will bring with him. Dated Samvat 1976, Pous 28th Expired, 29th.

[The language of the Passport is **Pahari**, a Sanskritic language used by the Gorkha conquerors of Nepal.]

THIRUKKALU-KUNRAM.

"The Hill of the Sacred Kites."

(BY K. RAMANUJAN.)

ON the road from Chingleput to Sadras (*tamil*: Chaduranga-pattinam), about half way between the former and the sea coast, there exists to-day a small town of nearly 5,000 souls, known to the Hindus of the South as "the Hill of the Sacred Kites." From Chingleput to this place, it is nine miles due east. If you happen to be a pilgrim from up country, you touch the platform at Chingleput (*via* Arkonam) any day at 12 noon, and forthwith one out of the hundred juts parked outside, carries you for a small sum at a brisk pace, into the quiet streets of a typical East Coast village called by courtesy a "Union." After a tiresome journey by train and jut, your first concern is creature comfort. This is ministered unto by the hospitable boarding houses of the place. You feel, after the dinner, fagged and in need of repose. Curiosity, however, does not allow you a dreamless rest lasting for hours, and ere the Sun sinks into the neighbouring sea, you are all agog to view the marvels of the place. The first fact which comes to your notice is the numberless mansions solidly built along the streets in the front of each of which there is a notice saying whose *Chatram* it is, and when it was built. Practically every second house is a *Chatram*. At the eastern end of the main street there lies a broad sheet of dark green water with flights of steps all round. This tank is the famous "Sankutirtham" so-called because every twelve years a conch crops up on its surface and is seen by the people calmly swimming about in search of feed. It is said that during the night preceding its appearance, a low, booming noise is continuously heard, and that next morning bubbles break out throughout the surface. Then, the temple authorities, followed by hundreds of people, repair to the tank and after due invocation and *puja*, the fish inside the *chank*, is killed and the shell taken in procession with all pomp and circumstance to the temple. There, it is added to the large collection of similar shells, big, middling and small, that represent previous collections. One sees roughly about 500 or 600 shells stored in huge baskets kept inside the store room. One day in the year all these shells are brought out and the goddess Thiripura-Sundari whose fane it is, is given *abhishekam* from each one of them. The temple men would have us believe that the collection—of about 500 shells—represents the output of 500×12 or 6,000 years. True chronology of happenings in this old, old world of ours is

yet a desideratum. So, I leave this belief of the priests of "Thirukkalu-Kunram," to the judgment of my readers.

By this time, it is 7 p.m., and the eager pilgrim wends his way to the "Amman" temple referred to above, situated at the western end of the town. This ancient fane, in spite of the "Nattukottai" curse of renovation, retains in its "Ardhamantapa" sufficient evidence to show, (as also in its "Mukha-mandapam") that, (1) it was of yore a Vishnu shrine, and, (2) that some *Saivite* Pallavas of the post-Christian centuries had the Vishnu idols in it removed of set purpose, setting up in their stead, the idol of a Goddess, whom they christened "Thiripura-Sundari." To strengthen you in this belief, people in the place point out to you, a big, stagnant *tirtham* just outside the temple, in the depths of which they say, lies rotting the entire fabric of a Vishnu shrine with its idols, dismantled in the course of a *single night*, when news reached Thirukkalu-Kunram, that Sri Ramanuja of the 11th century, A.D., had the idol of god Subramanya, installed for untold centuries on the Thirupati Hills removed—setting up in its place an old image of Sri Srinivasa from Srirangam, Trichinopoly District.*

You are tired with all this for the night, and, at about 8-15 p.m., you bid your voluntary cicerone 'good night,' and retire to your well-earned rest.

In the midst of the soundest slumber you ever had in your life, a man (your self-invited cicerone of last evening) wakes you up vigorously with the words,—“Rise, rise, sāmi; it is already cock-crow, and there's no time to lose if you wish to perform *giri-pradakshina* before sunrise. Please get up and follow me to the sacred tank to finish your ablutions, ere we start to go round the sacred *giri*.”

With half-smothered blessings on your lips, you get up, and hastily snatching the *madi* clothes you kept tied up in silk overnight beside your pillow you follow the man to the dark-looking “Sanku-tirtham”, in the dubious twilight of the dawn. Your ablutions are finished in no time, and tying on, on your purified body, the *madi*, with caste marks ablaze on your fore-head, you begin the circuit of the sacred hill (or hills, as the range is broken into four separate eminences) at about 5-30 a.m. This circuit comprises two miles and a furlong, and is laid out over a *pucca* metalled road touching on your right, the hills, and, on your left, green fields, and dark blue irrigation tanks. On your way, at that early hour, you find hundreds of men and women mostly in their wet clothes doing the *pradakshina* with folded hands. When the level sun just tips with gold the tops of the hills, you finish the circuit at the pillared shade raised over the first few steps leading to the

*This is on the face of it a untrue,—as early Tamil classics of the 2nd century A.D. mention "Vengadam" as bounding the Tamil country in the North.

temple on the top. Two-thirds of the flight is laid on the face of a sheer precipice, and it is with a sigh of relief you find that the rest of the way is a gentle slope. The first thing that strikes you as you near the temple, is the modern-looking outer walls with Municipal lanterns stuck up at intervals on the top. You get into the temple and behold with surprise an ages-old Pallava shrine with characteristic *Yali* niches, and the *adytum* with its *lingam*, and usual bas-reliefs of Sôma-Skandamurthi, attended by Brahma, Vishnu, etc., on the inner surface of the walls enclosing it. You enquire of your *cicerone* the reason for this disparity and he tells you, with gusto, how about twenty-five years ago, a rich Nattukottai Chetty spent thousands of rupees on the renovation of the temple, including in his scope, the alignment of a metalled pathway all round the four hills. You listen to this act of vandalism, with appropriate awe, and next witness reverently the morning *Mangalärathi*, receiving in your turn, the Sacred ashes, *bilva* leaves and sandal paste. It is about 8 a.m., by this time. You descend the hill, and after partaking of light refreshment, you rest your wearied limbs in repose till it is 11, forenoon. Your cicerone appears before you just then, and asks you to prepare to ascend the hill again to witness the miracle of the sacred kites. You obey him and in about twenty minutes you are once again on the heights. When at the top, you are led down twenty feet or so by a flight of break-neck steps to the northern shoulder of the mount.

What a spectacle is in store for you! In the confines of a space not more than a hundred yards square, you see hundreds of men and women crowding together promiscuously, comprising almost all the races in India professing a common creed. There move before you, as if in a bioscope, Kanoujis, Beharees, Mahrattas, a prominent sprinkling of Northern Circarites and the usual number of devotees of all the Tamil districts ending with Tinnevelly. After having feasted your eyes on this eager crowd, you look before you. The shoulder ends abruptly at its eastern edge, having for its frame a huge mass of rock with its head raised at the southern end and its feet dipping into the depths of a cool spring towards the north. A portly *pandaram* (vegetarian Vellala wedded to temple service) is seen sitting just at its knee-joint surrounded by brass cauldrons from the open mouths of which fresh-cooked sweet rice (*sakkarai-pongal*) is sending out clouds of steam. There is also a smaller vessel beside these containing fine *ghee*, and a few brass cups of the size used in coffee clubs. The longed-for birds have not yet appeared in the adjacent skies, and so, you look straight ahead towards the East. Under the stress of a noon-day sun, clouds and mists are nowhere; you see opening before you a clear vista of idyllic beauty: green paddy fields inviting your grateful gaze up to the thin line of a distant, shady fringe, on the other side

of which, arcs of foam are seen playing hide and seek at the edges of a huge mass of hazily heaving blue. A tall spire of brick is also visible amidst the fringe of green. Your cicerone, who like Satan behind the sinner, follows you close and watches your least movements, proceeds to tell you how the *tope* ahead is the far-famed Mahā-balipuram, or the seven pagodas of antiquity, and how the tall spire on which your eyes rest enquiringly is the light house set up by Government, some years ago to warn coasting vessels against sailing close to that portion of the sea-board. Unheeding his words, you continue to gaze and gaze at the subtle, word-defying panorama before you—a panorama, whose elements are a mid-day sun, skies serenely blue, a lovely prospect of massive tamarinds and feathery palms rimmed on the other side with a belt of dancing white, beyond which you discern in the shimmering haze an expanse of blue commingling with Infinity. Your reverie is brought to an abrupt end; the hundreds beside whom you have been standing all the while stand up in a mass and shout in their several tongues,—“there they come, look, look over there, how they approach the rock !”

You look to your right accordingly and see two birds winging their way leisurely towards the rock ; a few minutes more and both of them alight at the head of it. They stop still for a minute or two, as though to revive breath. Then, very sedately and with the utmost *sang froid* towards the assembled humans, they step down the smooth slope, anear to the burly *Pandaram*, surrounded by steaming cauldrons of sweet rice and ghee, muttering incessantly words which are either prayer, hymn, *mantram*, or mystic incantation.

Knowing as you do something of South Indian orinothology, you have no difficulty in identifying these birds with the smaller white scavenger vultures, which are about the size of a kite with dirty white plumage and necks covered with feathers which “stick out like the back hairs of a schoolboy”. These birds are familiar sights throughout India, with their yellow bills, and face and legs naked. If you are a trained orinothologist, you will know what species I mean when I give you its scientific name,—“*Neophron ginginianus*”.

Well, to resume our tale. No sooner the two birds approach him, than the *Pandaram* places before each a cup-ful of *ghee*. This is sipped liesurely by them, and a second service of *ghee* takes place. This also is done justice to, after which the man ladles out into the same cups the sweet rice beside him. On the day I was a visitant, the birds came rather late and it was 1 p.m., when they departed flying slowly towards the North. The *Sthala Purana* has it that these birds are two Rishis of the North who for some

lapses on their part were cursed to assume this shape, and on their beseeching the angry Siva to mitigate their hard fate, were allowed to work out their redemption at the end of this Yuga, by winging their way every morning to Rameswaram, and after bathing there to return forthwith to their Himalayan abode, pausing in their return flight at this sacred place to adore the Linga on the hill top. Thus two wonders of this place were duly seen and admired. There was one more yet, and I reserved it for the next day. After due ablutions in the sacred tank and *giri-pradakshina*, all before Sun-rise, I was once again a visitant to the shrine on the hill at about 7 a.m. The *Archak* having arrived, the sanctuary was thrown open to the reverent gaze of the pilgrims, and *Mangalarathi* was performed soon after. Many departed after this, and my cicerone introduced me to the priest with an air and manner which only cicerones can command, and the priest with his assistants was all attention to me. Lighting once again camphor before the Linga, and having shown me duly the bas-reliefs on the walls around of Somaskanda Murthy and of several rishis and devotees, he asked me to look up beside the stone jamb of the unshuttered doorway of the sanctuary. I did so and found that the roofing at the Nor-West corner exhibited traces of rent and patch work. I asked the priest in surprise why it was so. He replied that every nine years god Indra of the third heavens descends to this hill to do *Arādana* to the Linga, and the fashion of his descent was by shooting as a thunderbolt through that particular corner into the sanctuary, the said bolt going thrice round the pedestal and then suddenly disappearing. "We keep an account" he continued, "of the last *puja* by Indra. When the ninth year from the date is born, and the monsoon for the year sets in, we watch eagerly night after night for the peculiarly blinding flash piercing into the sanctum on the hill. Sooner or later this happens as expected, and early next morn we and other townspeople ascend the hill, and as soon as we open the doors of the shrine, all crowd in to see the miracle. Sure enough, we all see how the North West coping is pierced through, with splinters of rock scattered all about the place, and how a strong, pungent odour of sulphur attacks our nostrils". Here, I expressed my wonder that lightning should leave behind any odour of sulphur. The priest merely nodded his head, and said it was so, whether one believed it or not. After this ultimatum, there was nothing more to be said, and I descended the hill, and after partaking a hearty breakfast, left the same day by a jut to Chingleput Railway Station.

Thus ended a most interesting trip to a most interesting place on the sea coast near Madras. Of its three marvels, only one that of the daily visitation of the birds is capable of tangible verification. The other two, viz., the occurrence of the conch in the sacred tank once in 12 years, and the descent of

Indra in the shape of lightning into the sanctum once in 9 years, are beyond verification by casual visitors, unless they happen to be so fortunate as to be present on the spot when either of these things happen. But till to-day no visitor or pilgrim of all these years has recorded any such happening. Failing this, one has to trust, if he can, the words of the priests and other townspeople who, for obvious reasons, prefer to multiply the wonders of a shrine, which is already wonderful for its romantic situation, picturesque prospect, serene skies, invigorating air, and added to all these, the unusual spectacle of two carrion birds visiting punctually its heights to receive from human hands every forenoon human food consecrated to the Deity.

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE HINDU TEMPLES

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(*A Paper read before the Mythic Society.*)

IN a short note on the temples of Mysore published in the Mysore University Magazine, I stated, with reference to the splendid monuments of the Hoysala dynasty, bearing their awe-inspiring crests and justly famous as the precious gems of the Hoysala art, that what was required of the interested students of Indian architecture was a spirit of restlessness as it were, and a desire to go behind the outward manifestations of things, with a view to find out, if possible, what are the temples for, why and how came they to be where they are, and what was the occasion for so much piety and such an expenditure of human labour and human intelligence on these shrines. It is to be hoped that a scholar learned in Sanskrit and intimately acquainted with the agamic rites, etc., will grapple with these problems and give us a short dissertation on this subject. In the meantime, with your leave, I shall endeavour to place before you some notes on the Hindu Temples which I have been able to collect through the kind assistance of the Agamick Vedamurthi Kumara-swami Dikshitar of Nanjangud and others.

The planning of the village and the religious symbolism connected with it were, according to Mr. Havell, reproduced in the enclosures of the Hindu Temples of mediaeval and modern times. The science of Indian town-planning was connected with the Vedic Sacrificial lore and, significantly enough, the Indian master-builder was also the village high-priest. It was not merely this similarity in plan of the agrahara and the temple that should be borne in mind but the fact that the true temple ought to conform to the proportions of the human body. In my note on the temples in Mysore I had referred to this topic in a very summary form and it shall be the object of this paper to deal with it in somewhat greater detail.

Sudarśana is the ādhāra or the perpetual support of the universe during the periods of creation and dissolution; it is also the pramāṇa or measure, that is, the regulating principle during the period of the continuance of life (sthiti) in which it appears as the regulator of things (artha), and of sounds (śabda). The diversity of philosophic views is due to the natural impossibility for human speech to express adequately truths concerning the Absolute; to people ignorant of synonyms (aparyāyavido janāḥ) often mistaking different names for different things; to considerable differences in

the intellectual attainments of men and to the fact that, while God has an infinite number of different aspects, only one of these is generally grasped and taught by a philosopher.

The Sudarśana, in upholding the universe, is the calana chakra or wheel of motion and appears respectively as the wheel of creation, withdrawal or continuance, each of these three again operating as a whole as well as through a number of minor wheels corresponding to the several Tattvas. The Mahā-rātridhara is its counterpart, 'the wheel carrying the Great Night' with a single spoke and meditated upon by the sages. When creation begins, there appears first the 'Wheel of Dawn' having two spokes; then as the disk of Saṃkarṣaṇa, the 'Wheel of Sunrise' having three spokes; then with Pradyumna, the '*Wheel of Lordship*' having four spokes; then with Aniruddha, the 'Wheel of Potency' having five spokes; after this the 'Wheel of the Seasons' having six spokes and representing the twelve sub-Vyūhas; then the twelve-spoked 'Great Sudarśana wheel' connected with the Avatāras, chief and secondary ones; and finally a thousand-spoked wheel holding the highest heaven. The regulative power of the Sudarśana manifests itself through the word (*śabda*) by means of the systems of religion and philosophy, and provides for the continuance of the world by means of the divine *śastras*, such as the discus, plough, club, conch, etc., used by the Lord in his Avatāras in order to fight the unrighteous and to resist successfully the enemies of virtue.

The *summum bonum* of men is 'the absolute discontinuance of the succession of sorrows, and the eternal happiness implied in it.' This is the same as the attainment of one's real nature or the nature of God. The two ways (*sadhana*) leading to it are sacred knowledge (*jñāna*) and religion (*dharma*) of which the latter is the stepping stone to the former. Knowledge of God may be direct or indirect, here again the latter being the cause of the former. Worship of God may also be mediate (*Vyavahānavat*) as worship of some representative of God such as the Brahman or immediate (*Sākshād-ārādhana*) worship of Him whose manifestation all those Gods are. Vedantic study and the Yoga practice lead to direct knowledge of God. The two mundane objects of wealth (*artha*) and love (*kāma*) are joined with religion (*dharma*) in a kind of interdependence so that each of them may become the means for attaining one, or both of the other two. Neither wealth nor love but only religion is an unfailing instrument nor, again, is liberation (*mokṣha*) ever a means for accomplishing anything (*sādhana*) but only a thing to be accomplished (*sādhya*).

The passage of the soul from birth to rebirth in the onward march of time, after its entry into the path of the *śastra*, till its liberation on its being

reborn in its own natural form (*Svenābhijāyate*, sc : *rūpeṇa*) is best explained as the play of God.

The Yoga, as the counter-part of the external Sacrifice (*bāhya-yāga*) is worship of the heart (*hrdaya-ārādhana*) or the self-sacrifice (*ātma-havis*) offered to God by giving him one's own soul separated from matter, that is, in its original purity. The soul is in touch with everything (*sarvaga*) and all-supporting (*sarvabhṛt*), without eyes, ears, hands, and feet, yet all-seeing, all-hearing, with hands and feet everywhere; far and yet near; the imperishable part of all beings (*aksaram sarva bhūtastham*), the highest place of Vishnu. Yoga means therefore the union of the life-self (soul) and the Highest-self (*jivātma paramatmānoḥ samyogaḥ*), and it would be the temporal attainment, during life, of a feeling of perfect oneness with the Lord.* To such a one, God is everywhere (*శవత్రావిదితమానం Sarvathraviditātmanām*).

† Atmātvarā girijamatihi I
 Parījanāḥ Prāṇāḥ Śārīram Gruham II
 Pūjate vishayōpabhogarachana I
 Nidra samadhisthithihī Sanchrah padayōḥ II
 Prādakshīṣa vidhihi II Sthōthrapi sarvagirāḥ II
 Yadyat karma karomī tathadakshilam Shambhōthavaradhanam II

ದೇಹೇದೆವಾಲಯಃ ಮತ್ತು ಶೈಲಿ । ಜೀವನೇದೆವಸ್ತು ನಾಶನಾ
ತ್ವದೇದಾಳ್ವಾನಿಮಾರ್ಥಂ ಭಾವೇನಪೂರಜಯೋತ್ತಾ ॥

Dēhōdēvalayah prōktō 1 jīvōdēvassanathanah 1

Tyajēdajñana nirmalyām sōham bhavēna pūjayēth ॥

The body is the temple; the soul is the immortal deity; forsake ignorance; meditate that you are god. To the Gods, the temples form the body and, like the Soul without a body, a God without a temple is said to be not a

* See Schrader's Introduction to the Pancharatra.

[†] In reading the verses, 'a' has invariably to be read as 'E'.

proper object of worship. So the Nirgunopasaka who has purified himself and possesses sufficient *chittasuddhi* and has given up the earthly cravings says, 'my body is the house of God. The everlasting Soul is the God. Ignorance is left behind as (ନିର୍ମଳ୍ୟ) Nirmālya that is, I have divested myself of the earthly shackles enveloping this life and come to realize my oneness with You and worship You saying that all-powerful, all-knowing and all-pervading God is me.'

ଅ ରାଧାଯା ମୁହଁପାତ୍ର ସନ୍ମାଦ୍ରାଜଂ (୩୦୮୦)

ମାୟାକୃତିରେଣ୍ଟୁ ଦୟାପଂଚଜ ସନ୍ମାଦ୍ରାଜୁ ॥

ଶ୍ରଦ୍ଧା ନଦୀନିମୁଲ ଚିତ୍ତ ଜଳାଭ୍ୟେର୍ତ୍ତେ ।

ରୂ କୁଞ୍ଚିତ ସମାଧି ଶୁଶ୍ରୀମେଣ୍ଟୁ ରଖୁନ୍ତ୍ରାଵାୟ ॥

Āradhayami maṇi sannibha matmarūpam (lingam)

Mayapuri hrudaya pankaja sannivistam II

Sraddhanadi vimala chitta jalabhi shēkai I

rnithyam samadhi kusumairapunarbhavaya II

The symbol of the atman (linga according the saivite) is like the gem (kaustubha) which is close to the lotus of the heart which is the city of illusions ; I worship this Atman by bathing Him with the waters of the pure mind belonging to the river of faith and I worship Him again with the flowers of meditation.

To the ordinary mortals who eat to live and live to eat, amidst the busy hum of crowded life, amidst the welter and confusion of all this sordid gambling for power and pelf, who have not the materials for such worship, as the next best they are enjoined to observe strictly their respective duties and to acquire at the same time the highest knowledge in order to attain liberation as a Jñānin or by the Great Departure (mahā-prasthāna)—to provide with a place of worship to these people, to dispel agnostic or atheistic ideas in the minds of men, and not merely to postulate the bare existence of a God but to prove His existence and His divine power for the good of mankind, temples arose. It may be permissible to suggest that the origin of the Christian cathedrals and churches, the Buddhist Viharas and dagabas, and the mosques of the Mahomedans is traceable likewise to the same object of proclaiming the existence of God and revealing His divine power. It is moreover an exposition as it were, in living form, of a simple creed to the ignorant ; an object lesson or a kindergarten exercise if you will. While the execution of the Hindu temples was, as may be anticipated, done by the craftsmen, the details of the design were regulated by religion. The Silpa sastras, Agamas and Tantras preserve for us the extensive and detailed descriptions of Hindu sculpture. From a notice of 'Elements of Hindu Iconography' in the *Athenaeum* for August 28, 1915, it will appear that the general use of images may have been felt to be necessary with the rise of the Baktha schools

of devotional theology. In any case the general development of Hindu Iconography may have started not earlier than the 2nd century B.C. and perhaps it coincided with the early centuries of the Christian era. It has not been possible to give the actual period or periods when temple construction was undertaken for the first time and we had better leave that matter in the hands of Sanscrit scholars and agamiks to find out from internal and external evidences that are forthcoming.

Where should temples be built will be the next question. The sites must be in the first place carefully chosen on sanitary and ritualistic principles and they must have been hallowed by the sages by their personal magnetism and example. It may be recollect that every temple of some importance has its *sthala purana* referring to an ancient sage making *tapas*, a form of God appearing before him in some shape or other, afterwards that sage undertaking the construction of the temple for that particular form of God that appeared before him. So have Parasurama and other sages obtained the reputation of establishing holy places of resort and of worship. The Gangadharesvara temple at Seringapatam is the reputed *kshetra* of Gautama as the sage Agastya is connected with Tirumakudlu temple, sage Gargya with Gargesvari. So are Jaimini, Vyagrapada, Patanjali, Panini Goutama and others connected with the holy places of Chidambaram, Madura, Kanchi, Nanjangud and elsewhere. Vishnu in his Rama Avatar is said to have founded the nine stars at Nava Pashana and the temple of Rameswaram in the course of his pilgrimage to the South. The Puranas contain several examples of proof of existence of a God and the celebrated instances of Prahlada and Markandeya come uppermost to our minds.

Hindu Temples may be divided into two different groups: structures built on the Pancharatra Agama principles and those following the dictates of the Saivagamas. What will be now placed before you refer to the temples constructed on these principles and we shall now proceed to the details that must go to form a Hindu Temple.

Garbhanyasa.

- (a) गर्भनायसमुद्दीप्तेषु देववागारस्य चांकरं ।
 प्राग्नाम्बृते राग्नाते दक्षसूत्राण्डिन्द्रिता ॥
 एवं ब्रह्मदंष्ट्रं वाढुत्तेषु रं द्युवताष्टुकरं ।
 वासुदं शोदिकपदं शकुनिर्वाणश्चतुर्षतं ।
 ददेवेक्षानं चंडाकद्वास्त्रं सूक्ष्मां दिलाह्यं करं ॥ इति चारणाग्रहं ॥

(a) Garbhanyasa mathovakshye dēvagarasya chantharam 1

Pragragrañyu tharagrañpi dasasūthrāṇi vinyasētih ॥

Ēvam brahmāpadam madhye thathpāram daivathastakam 1

Manusham Shōdashāpadam chaturvīṁśat paishachakam 1

Padamēkōna panchashadvasthu syathsthāndilakhyakam 1 Ithi Karanagame ॥

- (b) ಈತುದರ್ಶಂತಂತುಭುವನಂ ಮಂಧ್ಯ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಪದಂಸ್ಯಸೀತ್ |
 ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಗಭರ್ಮಿತಪ್ರೋಕ್ತಂ ವಿನ್ಯಸೇದ್ವೈಕಪದೆ ||
 ಮಂಧ್ಯಸಮಾಖ್ಯಭವನಂ ದೇವಗಭರ್ಮಿತಾರಿತಂ |
 ಮಾಸುಷಿಭೂತಕತ್ತಂತು ತಸ್ಯಾಮಾಸುಷಗಭರ್ಮಕೆ ||
 ಪದಪ್ಯಾತಾಚಕ್ರಗಭರ್ಮ ತ್ರಿತತ್ತಂವಿನ್ಯಸೇದ್ವಧಿ |
 ಪ್ಯಾತಾಚಗಭರ್ಮವಿತಾಜ್ಯಾಯಃ ಭತ್ತಿಸಾವಿನ್ಯಪದೆದಿತಿ ||
 ರಾಜ್ಯಸಾಂಶಿಪದೆಮದ್ಯ ಭೂತಕತ್ತಂತುಿನ್ಯಸೀತ್ | ಇತಿ ವಾಕುಳಾಗಮೆ ||
- (b) Chaturdashanthu bhuvanam madhye brahma padamnyaseth !
 Brahma garbha mithipraktam vinyasreddaivikepade ||
 Madhye samakhya bhavanam dêvagarbha mithiritham 1
 Manuse bhûtha thathvanthu thasman manusha garbhake ||
 Pade paishachake garbhe thrithathvam vinyasêd bhudah 1
 Paishacha garbha mithyahuhu bhithi nâmni padedishi 1
 Rakshasamshe pademadhye bhûtha thathvanthu vinyaseth || Ithi Vathulagame ||
- (c) ರಾಜ್ಯಸಂಗಭರ್ಮವೇಪೋಕ್ತಂ ಗಭರ್ಮಭೀದಾಧಿತಾರಿತಂ |
 ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಗಭರ್ಮಂತಂಪ್ರಭವಂ ದ್ವಿತೀಯಂ ದೇವಗಭರ್ಮಕಂ ||
 ತ್ವತೀಯಂಮಾಸುಷಂಗಭರ್ಮಂ ಪ್ಯಾತಾಚಂತಂತಾಭರ್ಮಕಂ |
 ಶಂಚಮಂರಾಜ್ಯಸಂಗಭರ್ಮಂ ಗಭರ್ಮಭೀದಾಧಾಪ್ರಕೀರ್ತಿತಾಃ ||
 ಶಿವಲಿಂಗಂಬ್ರಹ್ಮಗಭರ್ಮ ದೇವಗಭರ್ಮಭೀತಂಪ್ಯಾತ್ಯಂ |
 ದೇವಾನಾಂಮಾಸುಷಗಭರ್ಮ ಮಾತ್ರಾಃಪ್ಯಾತಾಚಗಭರ್ಮಕೆ ||
 ಶಂಚಮಂಶಿತ್ವದ್ವಾರಬಾಲ್ಯ ರಾಜ್ಯಸಾಂಶಿತಾಗಭರ್ಮಕೆ || ಇತಿ ದೀಪಾತ್ಮಗಮೆ ||
- (c) Rakshaśam garbha mēvōktam garbhi bhēda ithiritam 1
 Brahma garbhanthu prathamam dvibhiam dēvagarbhakam 1
 Thrutfyam manusham garbham paishachantu chathurthakam 1
 Panchamam rakshasam garbham garbhahbedah prakīrthithah 1
 Sivalingam brahma garbhe dēvagarbhēthu vaishnavam 1
 Dēvanam manushe garbhe mathrūh paishacha garbhake 1
 Panchmūrthi dvarapalau rakshasamshēthu garbhake || Ithi Diptagame ||
- (d) ಪ್ಯಾತ್ಯವಂಶಂತ್ಸೂಮಾತಿಂಚ ಸಾಫಂಪಯೇದ್ವೈವಗಭರ್ಮಕೆ |
 ನಿಷ್ಯೋಕ್ತಂತ್ಸೂತ್ಸಾಲಂಂಚ ಸಂಭಾವಂಂಚಿತಾಮಯಂ ||
 ರಿಲಾಚಿತ್ರಂ ವಿರಭದ್ರಂ ಯಾಗಂಂಶಾಂತ್ಯಂತಂದಿಂತ್ಯಂ |
 ಅಷ್ಟಕಂ ಮಾಸುಷಗಭರ್ಮ ಚತುಂಪ್ಯಾತಾಚಗಭರ್ಮಕೆ ||
 ಶ್ರವಂತಾದ್ವಾರಬಾಲಾಂತ್ಯ ಮಾತ್ರಾಃಸ್ತಾತ್ಮಮಾಸ್ಯಸೀತ್ | ಇತಿ ಸುಪ್ತಭೀದಾಗಮೆ ||
- (d) Vaishnavam shakti mürthincha sthapayéddéva garbhake 1
 Vignesham kshethrapalancha Shañmukhamcha pitamahaem 1
 Lilachiram virabhadrām yagam sūryamthu dikpathim 1
 Ashtakam manushe garbhe chatuh paishacha garbhake 1
 Pramathan dvarapalamscha mathru kausthu kramanyaseth 1
 Ithi Suprabhēdagame ||
- (e) Garbhanirnaya.
- ಗಭರ್ಮಗ್ರಂಥಂತಂದ್ವಿಧಂ ತಂತ್ಯಂತ್ಯಂತಂ ಸಂಭಾವಿ |
 ಗ್ರಂಥಗಭರ್ಮಂಗಭರ್ಮಗ್ರಂಥಂ ದ್ವಿವಿಧಂತಂಪ್ರಕೀರ್ತಿತಂ ||
 ರಂಗಸ್ಯಸಾಫನಾತಳ್ಯಂ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಭರ್ಮವಿಧಾನಕಂ |

గభీరలింగంస్తాశనీయం తస్మాద్యుద్యోగ్యహంస్తుఃతం ॥
 తద్వాభంపంజభీదంతు తదుక్ష్యత్తరథీలాయైతే ।
 బ్రుద్యుగభం దేవగభం మానంపంతుజ్యైతాజేశం ॥
 మానంపంగభంపుతాయై పంజభీదాశ్రసీతికాః ॥ ఇతి దీప్తాగమ్ ॥

(e) Garbha gruhanthu dvividham thadbhedam srunu shaṇmukha 1
 Gruhagarbham garbha gruham dvividhanthu prakīrthitham ॥
 Lingasya sthapanaṁpūrve gruhāgarbha vidhānakam 1
 Garbhē lingam sthapaniyam thasmadgarbhagruham smrutham ॥
 Thadgarbham panchabhēdanthu thaduthpathi rathōchyathe 1
 Brahma garbham dēvagarbham manushanthu paishachakam ॥
 Manusham garbha miyahuhu panchabhēdah prakīrthithah ॥ Ithi Diptagame ॥

The God Paramesvara saith to his son Kumaraswami as follows, regarding temple building : Ten lines must be drawn north to south as well as

1	2	3	4	5	E	6	7	8	9
32	19	20	21	22	D	23	24	1	10
31	18	14	15	16	C	1	2	2	11
30	17	13	7	8	B	1	3	3	12
29	16	12	6	A		2	4	4	13
28	15	11	5	4		3	5	5	14
27	14	10	9	8		7	6	6	15
26	13	12	11	10		9	8	7	16
25	24	23	22	21		20	19	18	17

Note.—A. Brahmagarbha.

D. Paishachagarbha.

B. Devagarbha.

E. Rakshasagarbha.

C. Manushagarbha.

east to west to constitute squares. Each line will hold nine squares and there will be 81 squares in all. The outer ring of 32 squares constitutes the Rakshasagarbha and is enclosed in the compound wall. The remaining 49 squares are called the Pada, whose central square is called the Brahma Pada or Brahma Garbha. The first circle of 8 squares which go round it forms the Devagarbha; the 16 squares in the second *Strip* constitute the Manushagarbha while the third circumference of 24 squares is called the Paishachagarbha, with as stated before, the Rakshasagarbha coming last of all.

గ भावगारे सप्तसप्तमशक्तिनवुं भूत्युं द्युष्मिक्ष० चाप्त्युं भाग० ।
वा नवुं शुद्ध० त० मैलेत्ता० त० बृह॒ शुद्ध॒ त॒ च॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ ॥
द्युष्मिक्ष॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ ॥
त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ ॥

Garbhagare saptasapthamashakena madhye brahman daivikamchashtha bhagam ।
Manushyamsham shodashamsham bahishyath paisachamshansyath chaturvimsadhamshamsam ॥
Daivam brahmyam vaishnavam daivikamshshe sarve devah manushe sthapaniyah ॥
Paishachamshe matara sthapaniya rakshasyamshshe dvarapala prathishta ॥

In the five enclosures above mentioned, the Gods may be installed as follows :—

Sivalinga in the first, Vishnu and Shaktidevates in the second, the other tutelary gods, viz., Ganapathi, Kshetrapala or Kalabhairava, Kumaraswami, Brahma, Lilamurthis, Veerabhadra, and Yagasala (the sacrificial place), Surya, Astadikpalakas in the third, Nandi, Mahakali, Pramathaganas and Sapta matrikes in the fourth and the dvarapalas in the last.

Where the shrine is built according to the strict agamic doctrines and rites and the deity is properly installed therein, it is called Grihagarbha but if a deity is there in the first instance and it is built upon subsequently it will be known as Garbhagriha.

गृदेववालयुं विंद्युं द्युद्ध॒ भ॒ त॒ भ॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ ॥
गृदेवभ॒ भ॒ म॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ ॥
गृदेवभ॒ भ॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ ॥
त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ त॒ ॥

Gruham devalayam vindyadgarbham bhava ithiritham ।
Gruha garbha mithi pruktam thasmath garbha gruham smrutham ॥

Gruhamadhye brahma garbhe sthapayechchivalingakam ।
Thasmadgarbhagruham namā ithi shaivagamoditham ॥ Ithi Kamikagame ॥

गृद्ध (gruha) or the house is the temple; गृधर (garbha) is God and in as much as the God is installed in the temple, it is grihagarbha (गृद्धगृधर).

गृधरनवुं सवित्तुं त्र॒ वा लया॒ वा वया॒ वा वा॒ ॥
देववालया॒ त्र॒ वा लया॒ गृधर गृधर त्र॒ वा वा॒ वा॒ वा॒ ॥
सुवनासिन्वा॒ वा॒ वा॒ वा॒ वा॒ वा॒ वा॒ ॥
अधर्वा॒ वा॒ वा॒ वा॒ वा॒ वा॒ वा॒ ॥

ದೇವಕಾನಾಂತ್ಯಂತರಾಳಂ । ಹಸ್ತದ್ವಯಾಹಿತೀರಳಂ ।
 ಕೃದಯಂಸ್ತತರಂಗಂತು । ಕುಕ್ಕಿಂಚಾಸ್ಥಾನವಂಪಿಂ ॥
 ಬಲಿಸೀತಂನಾಭದೇಶಂ । ಮಹಾಮಂಟಿವನುಧ್ಯಮುಂ ।
 ಪಾಶ್ಚಮಂಪಿಂಚಜಾನಾಂದ್ವಿ । ಜಂಫಿಗೋಽಪಿರಸಂಪಿಂ ॥
 ಪಾದದ್ವಯಾಂಗೀಷ್ಠಾಗ್ರಂ । ಪರಿನಾರಾಲಯಾಂಗಕಂ ।
 ವ್ಯಾಸಾದ್ವೀಪರಿಭಾಗೀತ್ವಾ । ಕೃಷ್ಣಾಗಹಿತೀರಳಂ ॥
 ಅಲಯಾಂಗವಿತಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಂ । ಗಂಭೀರ್ತತ್ವರಫೋಽಂತೇ ॥

Garbhanyasa mithi prôkta malayavayavam shrunu I
 Dêvalaya sirôgarbha gruham syath parikIrthitham II
 Sukhanasi mukham prôktam I chantharalamgalam smrutham I
 Ardha mantapa bahûdva l vûrasyadrangamantapam I
 Sêvakanaam thwantharalam I hastadvaya mithiritam I
 Hrudayam nrutha ranganthu l kukshinchasthana mantapam I
 Balipitam nabhi dêsam l mahamantapa madhyamam I
 Parsva mantapa janûdvou l janghe gôpura mantapam I
 Padadvayam gôpuragram l parivaralayangakam I
 Prasadôparibhageth I prushtabhaga mithiritam I
 Älayanga mithi prôktam l garbhôthpathi rathôchyate II

ಅಲಯ ಸ್ತುತಿಷಾಕ್ಷಿ ಧ್ಯಾನ (Älaya purushâkruthi dhyâna) Meditation on 'The person as the house (temple)'.

ನಾಥಕೃತಾಸದನಸ್ಥಿಗಭರಿಲಯಾತ್ಮೀಯಂ ।
 ಮುಖಂತ್ಯಂತರಂ ಶಂಠಂಸಾರ್ಥಕನಾಸಿಕಾ ।
 ಭರದವನಂ ಬಾಯಳಮಾಮಂಪಿಂ ॥
 ಕುಕ್ಕಿಸ್ತಾವರಣಂಸುಜಾನುಚರಣಂ ।
 ದಾಖಲಂ ಶುನರ್ಮೀಷ್ಠರಂ । ಶ್ವೇಷಂತಾನಾಂವಂದಿರಂ । ಸ್ತೋತ್ರಮಿದಂತ್ಯದ್ವಾಳೆಯಾತ್ಮಕಂ ॥
 Nathatvat sadanasya garbha nilayashsheershama I
 Mukhantvantaram kanjam syachchukanasika I
 Rdhasadanam bahû maha mantapam II
 Kukshi pravarânam sujanu charapam I
 Dwaram punargôpura I hyôvamthavaka mandiram I Smruthamidam tvadhbhakta
 dêhathmakam II

The several parts of the temple are then described as follows:—Garbhagriha is its head, the sukhanasi its face, antaralamantapa its neck, ardhamantapa its arms, the navaranga the breast, the mantapa in front of it where the devotees congregate to see the deity its palms, being also the place where the several articles of temple worship are to be made ready, nrittamantapa its heart, asthanamantapa its belly or stomach, balipitha the naval, maha-mantapa the central part, the parsvamantapas, i.e., the aisles the knees, the gopuramantapa the hips, and gopura itself the feet, the surrounding veranda the other limbs.

Garbhagriha came to be called such for;

ಗಂಗಾಧರಿಗಳಾರಸ್ಥಾತ್ರಾ । ಭಂತ್ರಾಽಭಿಂಭಾರಣಾ ।
 ಗಗಾರಕ್ಷಭಾರಕ್ಷಾ । ಗಭಾತ್ಮಾಭಧೀಯಾತೇ ॥

మనోనైస్తేగ్రారస్తా । దృశారస్తుసదాతః ।
గ్ర్యుశారంశచారంశః । గ్ర్యాయనామాఖ్యంవిదుః ॥

Gangadharah gakarasyath 1 bhadrakali bhagaraka 1
Gagarascha bhakarascha 1 gabha itya bidheeyate 1
Manonmanee grukarasya 1 dhdhakarasthu sadasivaḥ 1
Grukarancha hakarancha 1 gruhanamakhyam viduhu 11

The letter గ (ga) denotes Gangadhara, while Bhadrakali is derived from భ (bha), గ్ర్య (gru) suggests manonmani and from శ (ha) we derive Sadasiva; and these four letters together form garbhagriha. By Gangadhara we are to understand He who wears the holy water even during the great deluge; Bhadrakali is the Goddess who has a boon suggesting radiance always; Manonmani is She who will bring delight to the mind and Sadasiva is the eternal boon giver. Even the deluge does not destroy Him. He is ever pure, all knowing and eternal. He is the creator, preserver and destroyer, all in one.

శంభోలోశుక్ష్మాస్తుగభంస్తుతా । గ్ర్యాయందేనాలయంతఃరః ।
గ్ర్యాయగభంసమాయోగాధ్యభగ్ర్యాయవితస్త్యాతం ॥ సూక్ష్మాగమ్ము ॥
గభంస్త్యాయస్తుసుపుంపుంసుయనాసముకీరితం ॥ వీరాగమ్ము ॥

Sambhōḥ kūkshisthu garbham syath 1 gruham dēvalayam ārāha 1
Gruhagarbha samayōgadgarbhaguha mithismrutham 11 Sūkshmagame 11
Garbhagruhaya sumukham sukhanasa mithiritam 11 Veeragame 11

The shrine in front of the garbhagriha is the Sukhanasi. The one in front of it is the Antaralamantapa.

Kashyapa Agame.

గ్రీవోకంతొగణో యాస్య తిరేధిత్తంతరాళశం ।
జట్టిదంపుంపిషామ్లుం స్తుతిదధంబాధంపుంపిషం ॥

Greevokantogalo yasya sirōdhishthanthalakam 1
Shatpadam mantapakhym syathhadardhan chardha mantapam 11

The Antaralamantapa and Ardha mantapa together occupy 9 Ankanams, 6 belonging to the first and the three ankanams to the second.

రవిశ్రుంభసమాయుశ్చం । రంగముంపిషనామశం ॥
Ravisthaimbha samayuktam ranga mantapa namakam 1

Rangamantapa is formed of the 12 pillars in front of the Antarala-mantapa.

శివసేవక శేవాధం । శేవకస్తుంతరాళశం ॥
నతం నైత్రం రంగేశు । తస్తుదాస్తునముంపిషం ॥
సభాసంఖుతసంస్తానం । తస్తుదాస్తునముంపిషం ॥
యాశ్వుదిబలభుత్యాధం । బలిషీతామ్లుంతిషం ॥
హేమయాగాచ్ఛస్తునం । యాగముంపిషనామశం ॥

Sivasēvaka sévartham 1 sēvakasyantharalakam 1
Narthanam nṛūtarangēthu 1 thasmadassthana mantapam 11

Sabhasamsthitha samsthanam I thasmadasthana mantapam I

Yakshadi balibhuktyartham I balipeetakhvakam viduhu II

Hōmayagarchana sthanam I yagamantapanamakam II

ಅಜಾ F ರೂಪಭರ್ತುದೇವಭವತಃಪ್ರಾಕಾರಸದ್ಗುಣಿಷ್ಠರಸ್ತೀ |

ದಾಮುಂಟಿಪಕ್ಷೀತುಭಾಕ್ಷಿಲಯಾನ್ವಾಗಾಲಯಾದಿನ್ವಾನಃ ||

ಘೋಜಾದಿಷಿವೇದನೋಽಷ್ಟವನುಭಾವಾದ್ವಾನಿನ್ವತ್ತಂತಫಾ |

ತತ್ವಾನೀಂತಿವದಂತಿಯೋಗಿನಿಶರಾಷ್ಟ್ರತ್ವಾಸ್ವಧಃ ||

Archarūpalakshana II Archarūpadharasya dēvabhavataḥ prakara sadgōpurakree |

Damāntapa kētupakanilayanyagala yadeenvunah II

Pūjadeepa nivēdanōthsava mahavadyani nruththamtatha I

Thathvaneethivadanthyōginikarassathvathmakassadhavah II

ವಿಮಾನಕುರುಷಾಕೃತಾಂತ (Vimāna purushākruti dhyāna). Meditation on the Vimana as the person.

ಸೂರ್ಯಭಾನಂಚದಂ ಲಸಕ್ಷ್ಯಕುಪುಂದಂ ತೇಸಕ್ಷಿಜಂಘೀ |

ಲಸಕ್ಷ್ಯದಂಸನ್ಮಕ್ಷಿಂ ತಿಹೀತಿಷದಧನ್ವಾನಾನಿಲಸ್ಮಿತಿಪಕ್ಷೀ |

ಆಸೀನೋಽತ್ಮನುಷ್ಣಾರುಭಾಕೃತಿ ಪರಂಭೂರ್ಯಾದ್ವಿವಾನಂಸ್ಥಿತಂ |

ಭಾವಕ್ಷಂಪುಂನಿವಂದಿತಂಚ ಜಗತಾಂಭವ್ಯಾಯಾದಿವ್ಯಾತ್ಮಂ ||

Sōpananchapadam lasachchakumudam thēsatthihjanghe I

Lasatpadam sanmakuṭam sikhēticha dadhannamane lakshmeepathē II

Āseenōthama pūrushakruti parambhūyadvimanamsthitham I

Bhavakkam munivanditancha jagatambhavyaya divyatmakam II

The steps are the feet ; the shining black water-lily (Kumuda) the ankles ; the white lotus (padma) the forelegs ; the crown and coronet (mukuta) the head.

In the Antaralamantapa the devotees and the temple servants assemble for the Sivapuja. Nrittamantapa is also called the Sabhamantapa or the Asthanamantapa where the dance for the delight of Siva takes place. In front of it is the Balipitha where the sacrifices have to be offered to yakshas and others.

Gopura may be of different stories, the topmost vimana being the head and the lowest the feet.

ಶಿರಸ್ವೀತುಕಲಂಪ್ರೋಕ್ಷಂ | ದ್ವಿತಲಂತ್ರಿತಲಂತಫಾ ||

ತಲಾತಲಂವಿತೇಂಳಿ | ತಿಹಂತುವಿಥಿಯತೆ ||

ಉಪರ್ಯಾಪರಿಗೋಡಾಲಾ | ಕೂಟಂಸಾಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಕರಾಜ್ಯಯಂ ||

ಗಭರ್ಗೇಯಾದಿಕಾನಂತಂ | ತದುತ್ತಾರಿತೀರಂತಂ ||

ನಾನಾಗಮನಾರೋದಾಷ್ಟರೇ | ನಾವನಾಂಕೀಗಭನಾಸವಿಧಿ ||

ಬಟ್ಟಿಲೋನಾವಂಚತುರ್ವಶಮಾಧ್ಯಯಃ ||

Sirasvēthuthalamprōktam I dvitalamīthrithalamthatha I

Thalathalam visēshēna I sikhārantu vidiheyathē II

Uparyuparigōshala I kūṭamsyadgōpurahvayam I

Garbhagēhadikananthu I thaduthpathirithīritam II

Nanagamasarōdhare I pavanakhyēgarbhanyasavidhi I

Patalōnamachaṭurđasamahadhmayah II

ధ్యాయాకృతే ।
 యాజ్ఞాయాజ్ఞాపుర్ణి ॥
 త్రేతాయాం ద్వాపరేష్టయా ।
 యదాప్రేర్తితదాప్రేర్తి కలోసంకీర్తనేతవం ॥

Dhyayankrute 1
 Yajanyagnaihi 11
 Trētyam dvaparēschayan 1
 Yadapnōti tadapnōti kalou sankirtakēshavam 11

What one can acquire by meditation in the Krita age; by Sacrifices in the Tretayuga; by worship in the Dwapara age; that one gets in Kaliyuga by the singing of songs of Keshava.

ఠంగస్తమాద్భుత ప్రతివాయ్యదీఁఁ ।
 రక్తైసనేఁఁలే వ్యస్తమ్యాంమాలే ।
 కూలస్తమధేఁఁ శైఖ్యరస్తమాక్రో ॥
 రథస్తమశ్రేష్ఠు వసంతజీవాః ।
 గోధురస్తమాశ్లోద్భారే ॥
 బ్రూసాదస్తమాభుత్తుఁఁఁ లిమానశుస్తుఁఁఁదేతీతు ।
 మంచిపస్తమాస్తుఁఁఁభయోః ॥
 ధ్వజస్తమాశ్లోపమధ్యేతు ।
 బలసీతస్తమశ్రుతే ॥
 దీపస్తమాభుత్తుఁఁఁమాలేతు ।
 జీవస్తమానం సమాజీతు ॥
 Lingasyamāśrīdhin pratimahyadeecha 1
 Shakyasanēchō vrushṇavrushaṇamūle 1
 Shūlasya madhye shikharasya kuksau 11
 Rathasya chakrēshu vasanthijeeval 1
 Gōpurasya siladvarē 11
 Prasadasyatubhithishu vimanakukshidēsēthu 1
 Mantapasyathusthambhayōḥ 11
 Dhwajasya shūlāmadhyētu 1
 Balipīthasya vaktrake 11
 Deepasthambhasya mūlēthu 1
 Jēvasthanam samacharēth 11

In this way the God must be installed and life to be considered as being seated in the top of the linga, in the heart of the idol, in the seat of the Sakti (Power), in the bull's private parts, in the middle of the trident, in the sides of the Sikhera, in the wheel of the chariot, in the stone entrance of the steeple, in the walls of a storied building, in the middle of the Vimana, in the pillars of the mantap, in the middle of the flag-holder, in the mouth of the sacrificial altar and at the bottom of the lamp.

The mode of worship, the flowers with which to worship the several deities, what images should be worshipped, these and other things though strictly not pertaining to the construction of temples, may be mentioned as accessories.

Siva Dravya, for the worship of Siva.

ರೂಪಾಳ್ಕಿಂಭಸಿತಂ (ash) ಕ್ರಾಲಂ (trident) ದೋಂಶಾಶುಷ್ಟಂ (ತುಂಬೆಹುಷ್ಟು) ವೃಷಧ್ವಜಃ (bull-flag)
ಕಲ್ಲು ರಂ ಬಿಲ್ವಪತ್ರಂ ಚ ಶಿವದ್ವಷ್ಟಂ ಶಿವಾಂಶಿಯಂ ||

Rudrakshambhasitam Shilam Dronapushpam Vrushadhwajah ||

Kalharam bilvapatrancha shivadravyam shivapriyam ||

Things loved by Siva are the berry of the Rudraksha tree, ashes, the trident, the Drona flower, a flag with the bull insignia, the white water-lily and the Bilva leaf.

Vishnu Dravya.

ಕಿಂಧ್ರಭೋಽ ವೇಣುನಾದಃ ಹರಿದ್ರಾ ಸ್ವೀತಂಹುತ್ತಾ ಕಾ ಸುದರ್ಶನಂಚಃ ।

ತುಳಿಶೀ ಸುವರ್ನಸವನೂರಿಕಾಃ ನಿಷ್ಪಾದ್ರಪ್ಯಾಹಿತಾಂಶ್ರೋಽಂ ನಿಷ್ಪಾ ಕಂಡುಂಫಿತೀಂಜಃ ॥

Kapidhwajō vēyunadah haridra svēthumruthika sudarshanancha I

Tulashee suvarnanavamalikaḥ vishnu dravya mithipröktham vishṇukarma vishē shataḥ ||

The Flag with the monkey insignia, the music of the flute, the yellow colour, the white mud (gopichandana) and the sudarsana discus, the thulasi plant, the nine stringed gold necklace ; these are dear to Vishnu.

Athivasa and Pranasthana.

ಗೋಪಂ ಚೈವಾಪ್ರಕಾರಂ ವಿನೂಷಂದುಂಬಿಪಾದಿಕಾಃ ।

ಬಲಿಪಿಂಭಿಧ್ವಜಂ ಶೈವದೀಪಸ್ತಂಭಪೂಢಾಃ ರೇತಾಃ ॥

ಅಥವಾ ಸಾದಿಕಂ ಚೈವದರ್ಶಣಂ ಲೋಕಯೋತ್ಸಂಖಃ ॥

ಪರ್ವಿನಾಥತ್ತಃ ಶತ್ರೀವಾಃ ಸುಧಾಪೂಂದಾ ರುಕ್ತಿಂಖಾವಾ ॥

ಚೀರೆನ್ನಾಣ್ಯಯೋತ್ಸಾರ್ಥಾದ್ರಪ್ಯಾಧಿವಾಸನಃ ॥

ತಸ್ಮಾತ್ ದೃಪ್ರಯಾತ್ಮೇನ ದರ್ಶಣಿಂಬಾದಿವಾಸನಃ ॥

Gopuram chaivaprakaram vimanam mantapadikan I

Balipiṭadhwanjamchaiva deepastambhamathacharē ||

Athivasadikamchaiva darpanam lōkayēshshuchihi !

Paṭēvabbhithichitrēva sudhamandarukēpiva 1

Cheerēmrunmayē kuryaddarpanēchadhvivasanam 1

Thasmatsarvaprayatnēna darpanichadhvivasanam II

Images on the Gopura, Prakara, Vimana, Mantapa, Balipitha, Dhwajas-thambha, Dipastambha, images written on cloth, on walls, images made of mortar, in wood or of earth, before the ceremony of installation, for the performance of the Abhisheka, will become purified on being shown in the mirror and their reflections being properly bathed as prescribed.

The Agamik and the other worshippers must possess the following qualifications :—

ಆಚಾರ್ಯ ಸ್ತುತಿಗಮಂ ದೃಷ್ಟಾರ್ಥಕಾಮ್ಯಂ ನೈವಾತ್ಮಿಕಯಂತ್ರಃ ॥

ಅಲಂಕೃತಸ್ತುಲಂ ಕುರ್ಬಾ ತಾಂತ್ರಿಕೀಯಮಂತ್ರಸಾಧಕಃ ॥

ವಾಚಕಸ್ತುತೀಂ ಕರ್ತೃ ಅರ್ಥಕೋರ್ನಾಕೃಮಾಂಶಂಚಃ ॥

ಆಚಾರ್ಯ ರಾಜ್ಯಾರ್ಥಕಶ್ಚೈವ । ಸಾಧಕೋರ್ನಾಂಕೃತಸ್ತಾರಾ ॥

ವಾಚಕಾಸ್ತುಪಾರಿನಃ । ಪರಿಚಾರಾಃ ಪ್ರಕೃತಿಕಾರಃ ॥

Ācharyastvagamam drushṭvakamyam naimittikayajet ।
 Alankruthastvalan kuryathsadhabō mantrasadhabah ।
 Vachakastusrutēḥ kartha । archakō nityamarchakah ॥
 Ācharyascharchakaschaiva । sadhabōlankrutasattha ॥
 Vachakasvasthipatiṇah । paricharyah prakeertithah ॥

The Agamik must be well versed with the Shastric methods of (ಧರ್ಮಾ ಶಸ್ತಿಕಾ) Devatha Prathishte and possess full knowledge of Nitya, Naimithika and Kamya. Alankaracharya must dress and decorate the God according to the rules and in deference to the mode prescribed by the Agamik. Sadhakacharyas (manthra worshippers) must be repeating the sacred lore in praise of God in due form while the Vachakars should be reciting the Vedas and filling the air with the Sruti sounds. Paricharikas must dutifully perform their allotted task.

ಅಭಾರ್ಥಃ ಪುಷ್ಟಿಕೃಂಭಿಂಬಾಣಿ ।
 ಅರ್ಚಣೋವದನಾಂಬಂಜಃ ॥
 ಸಾಧಕ ಸ್ತು ಭಂಜದ್ವಂದ್ವಃ ॥
 ಅಲಂಕಾರಕ ರದ್ವಂದ್ವಃ ॥
 ಸಾ ನಾಭಾ ದೃ ಸ್ತು ನಯಂ ॥
 ಕರ್ಮಾರ್ಚಣಃ ಪರಿಭಾರಕಃ ॥
 ಪಾಂಚಕೋಣದಯಂಭೀವಃ ॥
 ನಾ ಭಂಜಾರ್ಥೇತ್ವರಸ್ತಃ ॥
 ವೇತ್ಯಾಚಳಾರೂಪಿಂಭೀಽಯಾ ॥
 ಸಾದ್ವರಾ ರಾ ಸ್ತು ಪಾದಂ ಚಾ ॥

 Ācharyaḥ makuṭashambhō ।
 Archakōvadanambujaḥ ।
 Sadhakastubhujadwandwam ।
 Alankara karadvayam ॥
 Sthanacharyastunayanam ।
 Karṇarchaḥ paricharakah ॥
 Vachakōhrudaymchaiva ।
 Nabhirmahēswarastathah ।
 Vēshyachaūrvignēya ।
 Vadyakarastupaduka ॥

Here we have the temple servants described in their relation to the God. The Acharya is the crown of the God Isvara ; Archaka or worshipper his face ; his shoulders are the Sadhakacharyas, the dressing Acharya is his palms ; his eyes are the Sthanacharya while his ears represent the cooks. Vachakacharya is his heart, his devotees are his navel, the dancing girls are represented by the thighs and the buglemen suggest the feet of God.

Their places in the temple are also fixed. Only the Acharya and the Archaka are permitted to enter the innermost sanctuary or the Garbhagriha. The temple cooks have to keep ready the puja offerings in Sukhanasi. The Sadhakacharyas are to be stationed in Antharala and the Ardhamantapas.

In the mantapas succeeding this the devotees are permitted to stand and witness the puja. The dancing girls, the buglemen, etc., are to remain in the gopuramantapa. The formality of prostration is also to be observed at the gate in front of the gopura; meditation, sacrifice, and prostration are forbidden in the garbhagriha.

On the eight sides of the shrine, other gods should be installed as follows :—

ಶೂಲದೀತಾಭಾನುಮಾ ಸಾಫ್ಯಃ ।
 ಆಗ್ನೇಯಾಂ ವಿರಭಧ್ರಂ ॥
 ಯಮಾನ್ಯೇ ಶುದ್ಧಾಂ ಮಾನುಂತಿಂ ॥
 ಸ್ವಾಹಾಕ್ಷಿಂ ತಂಗಣಾಧಿಂ ॥
 ನಾರುಂ ಸಂಖ್ಯಾಂ ಪ್ರಾಣಿಂ ॥
 ಕರ್ತ್ರಂ ಹೀಂ ತಂಪಾಯ್ತಿ ॥
 ಉತ್ತರಿ ನಿಷ್ಣಾಂ ಮಾಹಾತಂ ॥
 ಈಶಾನಾಂ ದ್ಯುತಿಂ ಪಾಲಂ ॥
 ಪರಾಥಾ ಏ ಸುತಪ್ರಾಣಂ ಪರಿಸಾರಾಲಯಂತ್ರಮಾತಾ ॥

 Pūrvētubhanumasthapyā ।
 Āgnēyyamvīrabhadrakam ।
 Yamyētu dakshinamurtim ।
 Nairathyētugāṇadhipam II
 Varuṇi shanmukham prōktam ।
 Shaktinchaivat vayvate ।
 Utare vishṇumakhyatam ।
 Ishancham kshētrapalakam ।
 Shadadhara mitiprōktam parivaralayam kramath ॥

 ಗಭಾರಾ ರಂಡಿರಿ ಶ್ವಾಸ್ತ್ರಂ ಶಾಶಿಂ ರಮುಂಚ್ಯತಿ ॥
 ನಾಸಿಕಾ ಸುಃ ವಿನಾಸಿ ರಸಾಂ ದಂತ ರಾಢಂ ಗಳಿಂಶ್ವಾಸ್ತ್ರಂ ॥
 ಮಂಟಿಂ ದೇವಹಂಕ್ಯಾಸ್ತ್ರಂ ಸ್ತುತಾರಿಂ ರಲಂಚ್ಯತಿ ॥
 ಗೋಽಪ್ರಂ ರಂಬಾದ ಇತ್ಯಾಸ್ತ್ರಂ ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನಮಿತೀರತಂ ॥ ವಾಕುಂಭಾಗಮೇ ॥

 Garbhagaramsiraḥ prōktam sikhaskharāmucyate ।
 Nasika sukhanaśrasya dantaralangalah smrutiḥ ॥
 Manṭapam dūhamityuktam prakaraḥ kara uchyate ।
 Gōpurampada ityuktam dēvastanamitritam ॥ Vatulagame ॥

On the East is to be installed the Sun ; to the south-east Veerabhadra ; to the south Dakshinamurti ; to the south-west the belly-god ; to the west the six-faced god or Shanmukha ; Sakti to the north-west ; Vishnu to the north and to the north-east, the guardian deity of the locality ; these presiding deities of the directions constitute in order the *Shadādhāra*. The holy of holies is said to be the head ; the crest is the tuft ; the front is the nose ; the inside is the neck ; the mantap the body ; the enclosures the hands ; the steeple the feet ; these form the abode of the Deity.

Prathishta or installation must take place accompanied with due formalities, after the images are executed in accordance with Shastric texts.

శ్రుతమేం శుక్తిష్టుంతి ప్రతిక్రియానయాగుత |
దేవాశ్చైమం శ్రుతమేం ప్రతిక్రియానా ఇతిశ్చైతా ||

Prakarshepatuthishtanti pratikrityanayaguha
Devaschaivam prakartavyah pratishthana itismruthah ||

In front of the God, in their respective positions should be installed the Dhwajasthambha, Balipitha, Nandi.

ధుజంసిరం ప్రశంభేవదేవస్థా భవువింభవేత్రా ||
Dhwajampeetam vrushanchaiva dēvasyabhimukhambhavōth ||

Thus, apart from minor differences in detail, both according to the Saiva and the Pancharatragamas, all our temples are built on the principle that they should conform to the proportions and the different parts of the human body.

For the national re-generation of our country, and past tradition, it is but right to remember that a good religious back-ground alone can keep us within the moral restraints and sanctifying aspects of an enlightened civilisation. Let us realize therefore that our temples were all constructed with a purpose, not merely as a central place of resort, not merely as an object worthy of visit by a pilgrim or devotee, but as an object of enlightenment, as an inspiring example to posterity in memory of their forefathers, inculcating the true spirit of God upon earth, the eternal religion of mankind, Dharma.

MM. H. P. SASTRI'S DATE FOR KALIDASA.

K. G. ŚANKARA, TRIVANDRUM.

MM. HARA Prasād Śāstri tried to show [J.B.O.R.S. II. 31—44] that Kālidāsa was a protégé of Yaśodharman (533 A.C.). I here examine his arguments in brief.

He argues that Kālidāsa omits Raghu's conquest of the W. Roman empire, which fell in 475 A.C. But Raghu conquered only frontier tribes of India, and the W. Roman empire was far from the Indian frontier.

He argues that, from Aparānta, Raghu passes on to Persia, without meeting the Guptas, and so the latter had then lost Gujarāt. But, if the poet was a protégé of the Guptas, he would not make Raghu defeat them; and, as Tabari and Maśoudi (956 A.C.) [II. 201] say that Sindh was lost to Persia by Kawadh (488—531 A.C.) and recovered by Anushirwan (531—79 A.C.), Yaśodharman must have conquered Sindh. Can we say that, as Raghu omits to conquer Sindh, Kālidāsa lived after Yaśodharman's time?

He argues that Raghu found the Persian and Greek empires side by side. But Raghu did not defeat the Greeks. From Trikūṭa, Raghu started, by the land-route, to conquer the Pārasikas [*Ragh.* IV. 60.] He only clouded the Yavanī's faces [IV. 61], as he clouded the faces of Keraḷa women [IV. 54]. So both Yavanas and Keralas were unimportant in Kālidāsa's time. In early works, Yavanas mean Greeks alone; and the Greek *power* was extinct in c. 500 A.C. I had argued that the Yavanas of the 19th year inscription of Puṇumāyi [E.I. VIII. 60] and the Yavana King Tushāspa, Aśoka's feudatory of Rudradāman's Girnār inscription [*ib.* VIII. 44] could not be Greeks, as there were no Greeks in c. 120 A.C., and as Tushāspa sounds Iranian. But Greek Kings might have survived in 120 A.C., and a Greek might have an Iranian name, as the Śaka Ushavadāta had a Hindu name. The Yavanīs smelt of wine, and so were Greeks. Then, in battle with Pāścātyas, who fought on horses [*Ragh.* IV. 62], grew beards [IV. 63], the survivors yielded, turbans removed [IV. 64]; and Raghu starts north to defeat the Huns [IV. 66—8.] But he is not said to have defeated the Pārasikas, whom he set out to subdue. So the Pārasikas and Pāścātyas were identical. Also, only Persians, not Greeks who shaved their beards, grew beards, yielded turbans removed, and fought on horses. Kālidāsa calls horses Vanāyu-deśyas [V. 73]=Pārasikas [Halāyudha]; and all scholiasts except Mallinātha explain Pāścātyas as Pārasikas. Mr. Śāstri objects (i) that Kālidāsa would not call Persians by two

names ; (ii) that the Pāścātyas had beards, but not the Persians ; (iii) that dust is raised in battle only in Mesopotamia or Arabia ; and (iv) that, in Varāha-mihira's map, Panjāb is due north of Mesopotamia. But (i) a poet would avoid repeating the same name, if possible ; (ii) Darius is sculptured with a beard [K. V. Rangasvāmi Ayyangār : *History of India*, I. 47] ; (iii) dust may be raised in battle anywhere, as *dust* is not *sand*, and both are found nearer India, in the Helmand desert ; (iv) Mr. Śāstrī has not proved, by citing chapter and verse, that Varāha placed Panjāb *due* north of Mesopotamia, and that Kālidāsa here used Varāha's map. We may add that Pārasikas may well be called Pāścātyas, as they lived due west of India.

Mr. Śāstrī argues that Raghu defeated the Persians in Sindh and the Huns in the Panjāb, which is possible only in c. 530 A.C. But the Persians lost Sindh in Yaśodharman's time ; and, as Raghu started by the land route to defeat the Persians, there was a sea route also, and so they were not in Sindh; but farther west. If Raghu is not said to have crossed the Indus, neither is he said to have crossed the Godāvarī, the Krishnā, or the Narmadā. Raghu goes north, not north-east, to conquer the Huns, who thus were then in Bactria, not Panjāb. Raghu defeated them near a river [IV. 67—8] which Mallinātha (c. 1370 A.C.) reads Sindhu, but which the earlier Vallabhadeva (c. 1120 A.C.) reads Vankshū=Oxus [*I.A. XLI.* 266]. As Bactria is between the Oxus and the Indus, the reading is immaterial, though the unfamiliar Vankshū is more likely to be changed into Sindhu later on than *vice versa*; and Kshīrasvāmin (c. 1100 A.C.), quoting Kālidāsa, places Raghu's Hun conquest in Vahlikadeśa=Bactria [*Amarakośa*. comm. p. 110]. Kālidāsa would make Raghu defeat the Huns in Bactria only *after* they came there and had become noted from their defeat by Skandagupta in G. E. 136=454 A. C., but *before* they defeated Firuz and annexed Gāndhāra in 484 A. C. [*J. R. A. S.* 1909, p. 113], as thereafter Raghu must have met them in Gāndhāra, not Bactria. Song-Yun, who was in Gāndhāra in c. 520 A.C., says the Huns conquered it two generations before [S. Beal : *Si-yu-ki*. I. Intr. 99—100]. Thus the *Ragh.* dates between 454 and 484 A.C.

The Hiung-nu=Huns were in Kashgar in 75 A.C. [*Heou-han-chou*. ch. XLIX. p. 6] ; but the Hindus, who knew only coast and frontier tribes beyond India, must have known the far inland Huns only after they reached Bactria. This was *after* 483—51=432 A.C., as the coins of the Maitraka Toramāṇa, who came with the Huns, and whose 1st year dates after 483 A.C. (since, of the brothers Māṭr-vishṇu and Dhanya-vishṇu, who were alive in 483 A.C. [Fleet : *G.I.* No. 19], the former had died in Toramāṇa's 1st year [*ib.* No. 36], date 52, evidently since their entry into Bactria. Mr. S. Krīṣṇasvāmi Ayyangār tried to prove [*I.A. XLVIII.* 65—76] that the Hindus knew the Huns from c. 150 B.C.

But he makes many irrelevant and incorrect *assumptions*—(1) that Shāpur defeated the Huns (a mistake for Chionites); (2) that the Huns occupied Gāndhāra in 465 A.C.; (3) that they defeated Skandagupta in 470 A.C.; (4) that Bālāditya defeated them in c. 530 A.C.; (5) that the Huns advanced into India beyond the Panjāb; (6) that *Toramāṇa and Mihirakula were Huns*; (7) that Pārasika means, not Persia, but Fars *farther west*; (8) that Raghu crossed the Oxus and defeated the Huns on its *northern* bank; (9) that Orosius corrected the errors copied from the map in Polla hall at Rome, or from Agrippa's *Orbis Pictus*; (10) that, in Strabo, Phryni is a mistake for Fauni; (11) that 'exiles' means 'forest-folk'; (12) that 'forest-folk' means 'demons'; (13) that the Fauni of Apollodorus *must* be Huns; and (14) that 'Devaputra' means 'demon'. His only *arguments* are (1) that, in Orosius' geography, *Huni-Scytha* occurs near Uttara-Kuru; and (2) that Hiuen-Tsang says that *in old days* the Hiung-nu ravaged Khotan [*Si-yu-ki*. II. 314—5]. But Orosius' statement only shows that, in his time (c. 400 A.C.), the Huns were near Uttara-Kuru; the *old days* of Hiuen-Tsang need not be before the 5th cent. A.C.; and if the Hiung-nu *ravaged* Khotan, they must have been *aliens*. Thus Mr. Ayyangār has failed to prove his theory.

Mr. Śāstri infers from *Ragh.* VI. that the Magadha King, ever engaged in sacrifices [VI. 23], was only in name supreme, that Āṅga and Mathufā were free, and that the Mālva King, 'a new-risen moon', must be Yaśodharman. Indumatī is taken first to the Magadha King [VI. 20] who, able to protect refugees and named aptly the *scorcher of his foes* [Parantapa VI. 21], was of kings the foremost. Of him the poet says that, though there be Kings by thousands, he alone was the earth's lord; and compared with him, all others, including the Mālva King, were only as stars to the moon [VI. 22]. Indumatī looks at him alone awhile, and denies him alone by a speechless bow [VI. 25]. Sudakshiṇā (Dilipa's wife) and Sumitrā (Daśaratha's wife) are made Magadha princesses, though the *Rāmāyāṇa* omits to say so [I.31; IX.17]. So Magadha was most powerful in Kālidāsā's time; and if he was Yaśodharman's protégé, such eulogy and making the Mālva king only third in the list are impossible, as Yaśodharman was suzerain (*samrāṭ*) from the Lauhityā to the western sea, and from the Himālaya to the Mahendra [G.J. No. 33]. Mr. Śāstri argues that Yaśodharman, by not holding imperial titles, by not claiming independence, and by, calling the Guptas lords, admitted their supremacy. But he is called *samrāṭ Rājādhirāja* and Parameśvara [*ib.* No. 33-5], and claims, not freedom only, but supremacy. His mention of the *Guptanāṭhas* and *Hāñ-ādhipas* is in the past tense, thus indicating, not his contemporaries, but his fore-runners in *samrāj*; and they are mentioned only to enhance himself. Also, *Guptanāṭhas*, like

Raghunātha, means only the greatest Guptas, not Gupta lords; and, if by mentioning *Guptanāthas*, Yaśodharman admitted their supremacy, he must have admitted the supremacy of Huns also, by mentioning *Hūṇādhipas*—an absurd result. Then Indumati is taken to the Anga King [VI. 27]; and, though he was desirable, and she discriminating, she rejected him, as tastes differ [VI. 30]. The Angas were never powerful, and became important only when a Gupta line ruled them. Śaśāṅka of Anga was a Narendragupta. Indumati is next taken to the Mālva king, a new-risen moon [VI. 31], manly like the sun [VI. 32] and young [VI. 35], who gladdened his kinsmen and dried up his foes [VI. 36]; but chooses Aja, as the Mālva king was too manly for her, thus making him greater than Aja. The Mathurā king was a post-Āndhra [Pargiter: *Dynasties of the Kali age*, p. 65] Nipa [*Ragh.* VI. 46]. The Magadha, Anga, Mālva and Mathurā kings all attended the *svayamvara*. The first three are mentioned before all the others; and the Magadha and Mālva kings as powerful. Yet none of them was defeated by Raghu. *Digvijaya* being only conquest of the *quarters*, the inland Mathurā king might be omitted; but the others could not all have been Kālidāsa's patrons to make him omit their conquest, unless they were of the same dynasty; and all could not have been at the *svayamvara*, if they were not all independent. As Yaśodharman was supreme from the Lauhityā to the western sea, Magadha, Anga, and Mathurā were not then independent. So *Ragh.* must date after Skanda died in 466 A.C., when independent Guptas ruled in Magadha, Anga, and Mālva, and the Nipas at Mathurā.

Mr. Śāstri argues that the poet mentions the Tibetans, who came to notice only in the 6th cent. A.C., as Utsava-sanketas from their frontier provinces U-Tschang, Bostan and Khotan. But the etymology is fanciful; and the Utsava-sanketas are mentioned even in the *Mahā-bhārata* [II.xviii.16] as seven tribes defeated by Arjuna. They were only mountain-tribes, who fought with slings and stones [IV. 77]. Raghu scaled the Himālayas [IV. 71,] there defeated the Utsava-sanketas [VI. 77-8], and planting his fame [*Yasorāśim*] there (=himādrau-Mallinātha) unshakeably [*akshobhyam*], got down without going even to the Kailāsa peak [IV. 80]. The Utsava-sanketas were thus on the Indian side of the Himālayas, not in Tibet. Mr. Śāstri, ignoring *Yasorāśim*, and mistaking *akshobhya* (*Madhrshya*.—Mallinātha) for the Buddhist god so named, places Kālidāsa in c. 500 A.C., though he admits that the poet nowhere else refers to Buddhism.

He then argues that, as Kāmarūpa and Kalinga were powerful in Kālidāsa's time, he lived in the 6th cent. A.C. But 12 Assam kings preceded Harsha's contemporary Bhāskaravarman [I.A. XLIII. 95-6]. So the earliest of them dates 640— $12 \times 27 = c. 320$ A.C.; and the third king Balavarman was defeat-

ed by Samudragupta [G.I. No. 1]. The Purāṇas make Guha the founder of a post-Āndhra dynasty in Kalinga, but do not place him in c. 450 A.C. From the poet placing the Haihayas [VI. 38, 41] at Māhishmatī on the Normadā [VI. 43] and at Trikūṭa [IV. 59], Mr. Śāstrī rightly argues that Kālidāsa lived after the Traikūṭaka era was founded in 248 A.C.

He argues that Raghu does not defeat the Coṭas and Pallavas, and that the Pāṇḍyas ruled from the Cola capital urraiyyūr. But in 640 A.C., Hiuen Tsang found the Colas 300 miles north of their capital, and we cannot say when they lost it. The Pallavas were omitted, as they were unimportant in Kālidāsa's time, but, as early Pallava chronology is yet unsettled, it cannot fix his date.

Kālidāsa says that the Pāṇḍya capital (*pura*) was named (*ākhyā*) Uraga [VI. 59], not Uragapura, which is equated with Urraiyūr, as both are on the south of the Kāverī and near Pēruvalanallūr. But Urraiyūr means 'the king's residence', i.e., capital. Its name was Kozhi, and later, Urraiyūr itself became a proper name, like Rāja-grha. Uragapura cannot modify to Urraiyūr, as *rr* and *ūr* are of Tamizh origin. Neither is Uragapura a Samskr̥t form of Urraiyūr, as Tamizh place-names are translated, not modified, into Samskr̥t, and we should have Vāsapura, not Uragapura (cf. Śvetāraṇya for Vēṅkādu.) Thus the identity of Uragapura and Urraiyūr is doubtful; and Urraiyūr is not known ever to have been a Pāṇḍya capital. So the mention must be of the Pāṇḍya's own capital, as he would be called lord of a conquered city only if his valour is praised, when it must be part of Sunandā's eulogy, which it is not; and Uraga must be the Samskr̥t for Ālavāy (Madura) = 'poison-mouth', as later on it was called Hālāsyā, from the legend that the city-limits were marked by a serpent's mouth, after the flood. That the Pāṇḍya capital was not Urraiyūr is clear from the Pāṇḍya living near Agastya [VI. 61] and Malaya [VI. 64] in the south [VI. 63], and from Raghu having to pass the Kāverī [IV. 45] and the Malaya valley [IV. 46-8] to meet the Pāṇḍyas in the south [IV. 49]. Mallinātha also places Uraga in Pāṇḍya-deśa, though he wrongly talks of a Nāgapura and a river Kānyakubja therein.

Mr. Śāstrī argues that, as the poet describes the condition of lotuses in a reservoir, when the bank fails, he must have seen the bursting of the Girnār lake in Skanda's time. But this belittles the poet's imagination; and the bursting happened in 454 A.C. [G.I. No. 14], not later.

He argues that, as the poet relates the desertion and repeopling of Ayodhyā in *Ragh.* XVII, he must have seen its desertion during the Hun invasion. This also belittles the poet's imagination; the Huns are not known to have invaded Ayodhyā; and the desertion of Ayodhyā by Kuśa is mentioned in the *Rām* itself [VII. 108.4-6].

It is argued that, as Kālidāsa describes the Skanda temple on Devagiri, and as Skanda's statue on a horse there shows that it must have been dedicated to the king Skanda, after his death, the poet lived after c. 470 A.C. But the god Skanda, who led the divine armies against Asuras, might aptly be sculptured on a horse; and Skandagupta might have himself built the temple, calling the god Skanda-rāja after his own name, as Rājarāja I called his Tanjore god Rājarājeśvara. Thus the poet may have lived before Skanda's death.

It is also argued that Kālidāsa minutely describes the Himālayas, which Yaśodharman was the 1st to make accessible. But Yaśodharman himself claims to have made the Himālaya *inaccessible* to invaders (*durga*) by guarding its passes, as the particle *na* is wanting, and, the metre being perfect, cannot be supplied [G.I. No. 33]; and Kālidāsa's knowledge of the Himālaya is due to his keen observation, not to its accessibility.

Mr. Śāstri argues that, as Kālidāsa compares the syllables of *manobhava* with black bees, both being broad at the ends and thin in the middle [Kum. III. 27], and as only in the Brāhmī of the 6th cent. A.C., they are so, the poet lived in that century. But, in this respect, the Brāhmī inscriptions of c. 470 A.C. differ little from 6th cent. ones.

He then argues that, as Kālidāsa says that Vidyādhara used for their love-letters birch-bark marked into letter-shaped lines by the rain-washed coloured earth, the Brāhmī was unintelligible in his time and so he lived after 300 A.C. But it is wrong to infer that the alphabet was unintelligible since the Vidyādhara used the birch-bark, as the people may have used other writing material.

We thus see that *Ragh.* dates 466-84 A.C., not c. 530 A.C.

KAUTILYA AND KALIDASA.

(By H. A. SHAH.)

[Continued from Vol. XI, No. 2, Page, 145.]

IV.

On page 139th of the third article, we explained the word “शातवाहन” in the passage ‘Kuntala Śātakarṇī Śātavāhana,’ as a designation of the family of the king in question. It is remarkable to note that the commentator of the Kāmasūtra prefers to take it to be a *proper name*—“शातवाहन इति यस्य संज्ञा,” on page 149.

Whatever meaning we select, it will be conceded that there is no reason to identify that king with *any* of the Āndhra kings of the Purānic list. It follows, moreover, that we cannot reject with any justification the identity of Vātsyāyana and Kauṭilya early recorded by Hemachandra and other lexicographers.

With these remarks to supplement the considerations we put forth in that article, we continue the parallels begun in our second article, under the section ‘state-craft.’

STATE-CRAFT:—A notable feature of the Arthaśāstra is its elaborate system of espionage. In our humble opinion, there is no occasion in Raghuvamṣa to depict it in detail, but it is interesting to see that certain general principles embodied in it are common to it and the Arthaśāstra. On page 20 (23) of the latter, it is stated that the king should move his agents for espying the movements of eighteen sections of his own as well as of other States. By way of maxims, it is impressed upon the reader,

Page 21 (25), * “एवं शत्रौ च मित्रे च मध्यमे चावपेचरान् ।

उदासीने च तेषां च तीर्थेष्वद्वादशस्वपि” ॥

Page 22 (25), “परप्रवृत्तिक्षानार्थाः शीघ्राश्चारपरम्पराः” ॥ and,

Page 305 (372), “कृत्स्ने च मण्डले नित्यं दूतान् गृदांश्च बासयेत्” ॥

cf. Raghu°., “न तस्य मण्डले राज्ञो न्यस्तप्रणिधिदीधितेः ।

“अदृष्टमभवात्किञ्चिद्यथभ्रस्येव विवर्ततः” ॥ XVII 48.

To avoid the snare of false and mischievous reports, to guard against wrong action and to obtain thoroughness in political moves, Kauṭilya finds it imperative to create a series of spies in this organization. He insists that,

Page 21 (24), “न चान्योन्यं संस्थास्ते वा विद्युः । and त्रयाणामेकवाक्ये सम्प्रलयः” ॥

cf., with it Raghu°., “परेषु स्वेषु च क्षिप्रैरविक्षातपरस्परैः ।

सोऽपसंपैर्जगार यथाकालं स्वपन्नपि” ॥ XVII, 51

* We omit English translation of the quotations to cut short inordinate length of the article.

(1).....The Arthaśāstra (as will be seen from the time-table of a king) and Raghuvamṣa tell us that the reports are made *to the king*.

(2).....Being mentally equipped and morally qualified (we will see to it later on in this article) to grace his exalted position, he directs his spies to weed out even the evils that manifest themselves in society. The process is given in the Arthaśāstra on page 211 (265),

“ते ग्रामाणामध्यक्षाणां च शौचाशौचं विद्युः । यं चात्र गूढजीविनं शेषं तं सत्रिसवर्णेनापसर्पयेत्” ॥

The spies get hold of an evil doer in the very act, expose him before people and to check others from similar practices, attribute the seizure to the omniscience of the king! This is how the notion of omniscience runs in the Arthaśāstra and Raghuvamṣa.

Page 214 (268), “पूर्ववच गृहात्वैनान् समाहर्ता प्रसुप्तेत् ।

सर्वहरव्यापतं राजा: कारयन् राष्ट्रवासिषु” ॥

“अकार्यचिन्तासमकालेव प्रादुर्भवंशापदरः पुरस्तात् ।

अन्तःशरीरेभ्यपि यः प्रजानां प्रत्यादिदेशाविनयं विनेता” ॥ VI, 39.

and “न तस्य मण्डले राजा.....अदृष्टमभवत्किञ्चित्” ॥ XVII, 48.

Manusmṛti VII, 63 ff., and Śukranīti, I, 334 ff., do treat of espionage but a different impression is created by reading them. The undercurrent running beneath the rules of Kauṭilya and Kālidāsa is essentially different from what it is in these two codes. The former devotes its attention to ambassadors while the latter is much concerned with the evils pregnant in the system than with its constructive aspect. Even when it is at its best, it carries us through an atmosphere of distrust pervading * the system. We miss the healthy tone and benefits of vigorous action underlying the pictures Arthaśāstra and Raghuvamṣa hold before our view.

Let us see how the person directing this system, viz., the king, is mentally equipped and morally qualified.

The King :—Arthaśāstra briefly puts down these characteristics of an ideal ruler.†

Page 12 (13) “तस्मादरिष्टैङ्गवर्त्यागेनेन्द्रियजयं कुर्वीत ।

वृद्धसंयोगेन प्रश्ना, ^Bचारेण चक्षुः, ^Cउद्धानेन योगक्षेमसाधनं, कार्यानुशासनेन सर्धम
स्थापतं, विनयं विधोपदेशेन लोकप्रियत्वमर्थसंयोगेन हितेन वृत्तिम्” ॥

* “असत्यवादिनं गूढचारं नैव च शास्ति यः ।

स नृपो म्लेच्छ इत्युक्तः प्रजाप्राणधनापहः” ॥ and

“प्रकृतिभ्योऽधिकृतेभ्यो गूढचारं सुरक्षयेत्” ॥

†To a student of Raghuvamṣa, these perfections will sound rather familiar. However, they are not out of place in this treatise if we jot down some of them, to keep in forefront the issues raised by these parallels taken up separately and conjointly.

(A).... Espionage is devised and employed to cope with the situation created by *external* enemies. But in the process of their subjugation, one has to start with his own self, liable to be overpowered by *internal, impersonal* enemies.

“अनित्याः शत्रुवो वाचा विप्रकृष्टाक्ष ते यतः ।

अतः सोऽभ्यन्तराज्ञित्याष्टपूर्वमजयदिपूर्न् ॥ Raghु°, XVII, 45,

This *genesis of action*, starting with ordinary rules of politics and resulting in primarily conquering one's own self is really the genesis of a *master politician* conversant with the basic principles of the science of politics as seen in the turn he gives to *applied* politics. Imbibing of traditional politics or study of political works cannot open up a way to expressions of such an analysis. That such cases can with difficulty be classed as “reproductions” will be realized by the contrast the Kirātārjuniya furnishes us with. The poet Bāhravi exultingly describes the “*nīti*” of King Duryodhana :

“कृतारिष्टद्वयं जयेन मानवीमगम्यरूपां पदर्वा प्रपित्सुना” । I, 9.

Kālidāsa or Kauṭilya would *never* praise him in this strain. In fact, Kauṭilya denounces him as one who supplies one of the notorious instances of kings destroyed by one or the other of the ‘six’ enemies Bāhravi has in mind. In the chapter on “इन्द्रियजय”, on page 11 (12), Kauṭilya informs us that,

“मानाद... ... दुर्योधनो राज्यादंशं च (अप्रयच्छन् विननाशो)” ॥

It is difficult for a poet to be a politician. We urge this difference between Kauṭilya and one who is not Kauṭilya. How can two persons identically conceive or look back over the past, agreeing in many a way, when they are different individuals ?

To proceed with other kingly virtues narrated in Raghuvamśa.

(B).....“पात्रीकृतात्मा गुरुसेवनेन” । XVIII, 30 and

“सर्वाणि तावच्छ्रुतवृद्धयोगात्कलान्युपायुक्तं स दण्डनीतेः” । XVIII, 46.

(C)..... We need repeat no more than the line,

“.....न्यस्तप्रणिधिदीधितेः ।

न....अदृष्टमभवर्त्तिचित्...” ॥ XVII, 48.

(D).....“न नवः प्रभुराक्षलोदयात्प्रथरकमी विरराम कर्मणः” । VIII, 22.

(E).....“स धर्मस्थसखः शशदधिप्रत्यर्थिनां स्तयम् ।

ददर्श संशयच्छेष्यान्वयवहारानतनिद्रितः” ॥ XVII, 39.

(F).....“प्रजानां विनयाधानादक्षणाद्वरणादपि” ॥ I, 24.

(G).....“प्रजानामेव भूतर्थं स ताभ्यो बलिमग्रहीत्” ॥ I, 18.

In the system of Kauṭilya, the above mentioned perfections mainly form

a great safeguard against the evils of espionage. They allow no cause for the *terrors* that linger in the accounts of Śukra. Of course, without such a duly qualified person at the helm of affairs to control this system, it is bound to be a source of nuisance and an evil he has recorded.

With 'सर्वाणि ताच्छुतश्चयोगात्' of Kālidāsa, we can well compare what Kauṭilya says on pages 11 (11, 12),

"अस्य नित्यं विद्याकृद्दसंयोक्तो विनयवृद्ध्यर्थं तन्मूलत्वा द्विनयस्य" ।

About the necessity of 'इन्द्रियजय' to be achieved by exterminating six (impersonal) enemies, we are told on the same page,

"विद्यानियोहेतुरिन्द्रियजयः कामकोष्ठेभैर्मानमद्वृपत्यागात्कार्यः" ॥

and the effects of Śruta² in this respect "क्षुतादि प्रक्षोपजायते, प्रक्षया योगो, योगादात्मवत्सेति विद्यासामर्थ्यम्" ॥

This series of developments beginning with Śruta and culminating in 'Ātmavattā' points out an important conception of Kauṭilya (either formulated or recognized by him) and shows us how significant parallels are these on the whole. Kauṭilya tells us in another passage on page 384 (463),

"स चेत्सन्धौ नावातिषेत्य, बूद्यादेन 'इमे यद्वर्गवशं राजानो विनष्टः तेषामनात्मवतां नाहंसि मार्गं मनुगन्तुम्' ।

Because the passage is conversational in tone, the term "अनात्मवत्" employed as it is, becomes a *term of censure*. It conveys Kauṭilya's sense of reproach by conveying multifarious drawbacks the want of Ātmavattā points to. Again, that term of censure must have its counterpart in a *term of praise or approbation*, connected necessarily with the notions contained in this series. It cannot but be its *opposite* "Ātmavattā", the person possessing it being called 'Ātmavān,' or 'Ātmasampanna'.

We are inclined to put a *personal stamp* on this notion embodied in Ātmavattā acquired in a series of growing perfections (Śruta, thence Prajnā, thence Yoga and finally Ātmavattā), and along with it, on the terms of censure and praise. If the similarity of conception and usage be not consistently found in vogue in other works, we shall not be wrong in our surmise that the term forms a part of the vocabulary of Kauṭilya and Kālidāsa. Both of them frequently employ it with its inexhaustible connotation. Let us see how it is so.

In the passage —"स चेत्सन्धौ... etc.,"—cited above, an obstinate king is scared away from his purpose by recounting to him (through agents or writs) his unavoidable defects as a frail mortal. This may be called the

destructive aspect of politics in contrast to what may be called the constructive one sketched in the following :

Artha°., Page, 34 (39), “आत्मसम्पन्नं सनापत्ये यौवराज्ये वा स्थापयेत्”।

Raghu°., XVIII, 18, “तमात्मसम्पन्नमनिन्दितात्मा कृत्वा युवाने युवराजमेव”।

Artha°., Page, 256 (317), राजपुत्रमात्मसम्पन्नं राज्ये स्थापयेत्”।

Raghu°., VIII 10, “अथ वीक्ष्य रघुः प्रतिष्ठितं प्रकृतिष्वात्मजात्मवत्तया” *।

To understand well how the trend of thoughts of Kauṭilya and Kālidāsa is identical, we quote the following line which tells us how “Śruta” is connected with “Ātmavattā.”

Raghu°., VIII, 84, “उदये मदवाच्यमुज्ज्ञता श्रुतमाविष्कृतमात्मवत्तया”।

The significance of “जुगोमात्मानमवस्तः” (Raghu°., I, 21) lies not in physical protection by the king Mallinātha makes it out to be, but in the protection of his self (to sustain Ātmavattā) without undergoing any (mental) distress.†

To know well how ‘प्रकृतिषु प्रतिष्ठितमात्मवत्तया’ (quoted above) is justified :—

Artha°., Page 259 (321), “सम्पादयत्यसम्पत्ताः प्रकृतीरात्मवान्मूर्खः”।

विषुद्धाभ्यानुरक्ताक्षं प्रकृतीर्हन्त्यनात्मवान्”॥

“आत्मवानस्त्वल्पेदशोऽपि युक्तः प्रकृतिसम्पदा

नयशः पृथिवीं कृतस्नां जयत्येव न हीयते”॥

The Ātmasampats are thus described at length :—

Aatha°., Pages, 257-8 (319-20), प्रहाप्रगल्भः स्मृतिमतिबलवानुदग्धः स्ववयः कृतशिल्पो ...
... etc ... शक्यस्मितोदग्धभाषी कृद्गोपदेशाचार इत्यात्मसम्पत्”। and

Page 260 (322), “राजा आत्मद्रव्यप्रकृतिसम्पत्तो नयस्याधिष्ठानं विजिरीषुः”।

With such Ātmasampats, the king becomes worthy of being called ‘आत्मवत्’।

Servants who honestly desire to serve a king are enjoined to look for this quality in the king. Page, 250 (310),

“लोकयात्राविद् राजानामत्मद्रव्यप्रकृतिसम्पत्तं प्रियहितदरेणाश्रयेत्। द्रव्यप्रकृति हीनमयेनमाश्रयेत्।

न त्वेवानात्मसम्पत्तम्। अनात्मवान् हि नीतिशास्त्रदेशादानव्यसंस्योगाद्वा प्राप्यापि महैश्वर्यं न भवति।

आत्मवति लभ्यावकाशः शास्त्रानुयोगंदशात्”।

* Mallinātha consistently explains ‘Ātmavatta’ by “निर्विकारमनस्कतया” That is, however, one of the several effects on mind of person possessing it. The rendering of Mallinātha does not exhaust the connotation of the term which is a name of variety of attainments.

† Arthaśāstra has technically named and described actions resulting from mental process of ‘Niyoga’, ‘Vikalpa’ and ‘Samuchchaya’ involving degrees of slowness or quickness of decision (cf. parallels and remarks on them at the end of our first article). There cannot be any room for mental distress in the course described by Kālidāsa in Raguvamsa XVII 49 तत्स्पेषे नियोगेन स यिकल्पपराङ्मुखः”। We prefer to take ‘मत्रस्त’ to include the sense conveyed by the above two terms.

That is again a part of what we may call constructive aspect of politics. The destructive one is now given, there being room for it because Ātmavattā is after all too wide and indefinite for ordinary conceptions. An avaricious man is thus entrapped ; his imperfect perception of that quality is brought to play upon his passion for wealth.

Artha°., Page, 25 (29), “ वथा शगिनां खेनुश्चम्भो दुर्गेष न ब्राह्मणेभ्य एवमयं राजा सत्त्वप्र-
शावाक्यशक्तिहनेभ्यो दुर्गे नात्मगुणसम्पत्तेभ्यः इति लुभ्यवर्गमुपजापयेत् ” ॥

Such are the various aspects of quality of possessing self (Ātmavattā), of which the following is the final quotation.

Artha°., Page, 330 (400), “ तस्मात्कोपं च कामं च व्यसनारम्भमात्मवान् ।
परिलजेन्मूलहरं तुद्देसेवी जितेन्द्रियः ॥ ”

Injunctions as these give us such impressions of the politics of Kauṭilya, that they are difficult to reconcile with what Bāṇa would ask us to believe in his denunciations in Kādambari. It must no longer be the original system in Bāṇa's days if it deserved such censures allied with indignance.

To consider other parallels falling under state-craft :

Artha°., Page, 262 (325), “ नाभिमात्मानमायच्छेत् नेता प्रकृतिमण्डले ” ।

Raghu°., IX, 15, “ उपगतोऽपि च मण्डलनाभितामनुदितान्यसितातपवारणः ” ।

Artha°., Page, 65, (73), “ कोशपूर्वास्सर्वारम्भाः । तस्मात्पूर्वं कोशमवेक्षेत् ” ।

Raghu°., XVII, 60, “ कोशेनाश्रयणीयत्वमिति तस्यार्थसङ्कहः ” ।

Contrast with them following passages of Śukranīti, IV, 2, 2-3, for want of emphasis on moral purpose of the injunction.

“ येन केन प्रकारेण धनं सञ्चिनयामृपः ।
तेन संरक्षयेद्राघूं वलं यज्ञादिकाः कियाः ॥
वलप्रजारक्षणार्थं यज्ञार्थं कोशसङ्कहः ॥ ”

Now the training of a Prince : as given in the Arthaśāstra and Raghu-vamśa :—

(A).....Page, 10' (10), वृत्तचौलकर्मा लिपि सखडयानं चापयुज्जीत ।

Raghu°., III, 28, “ सवृत्तचूलः ”

लिपेयथावद्द्वयेन वाऽमयं नदीमुखेनेव समुद्रमाविशत ॥ ।

(B).....Page, 10 (10), “ वृत्तोपनयनस्त्रयीमान्वीक्षिकीं शिष्टेभ्यः ,

वार्तामध्यक्षेभ्यः, दण्डनीतिं वक्तृप्रयोक्तृभ्यः ” । and

Page, 6 (6), “ आन्वीक्षिकीं त्रयीं वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति विद्याः ।

चतुर्थं एव विद्या इति कौटिलः ॥ ”

* cf., न्यायधार्य, Page 3, I, 1-2., “ सत्यमेतत्, इमास्तु चतुर्थो विद्या: पृथक्प्रस्थनाः प्राण-
भूतामनुयहायोपदिश्यन्तो यासां चतुर्थोयमान्वीक्षिकीं न्यायविद्या ” ॥

“ धर्माधर्मौ त्रयाम् । अर्थानयौवार्तायाम् । नयानयौ ब्रह्मनीत्यां वलावलेचैतासां
हेतुभिरन्वीक्षमाणा लोकस्तोपकरोति * व्यसनेऽन्युदये च तुद्धिमवस्थापयति
प्रशावाक्यक्रियावेशारं च करोति ” ॥

Raghu°., III, 29, “ अथोपनीतं विधिवदियश्चितो विनिन्युरेन गुरु वो गुरुप्रियम् । and
III, 30, “ पियः समैयः स गुणेद्वारार्थीः क्रमाचतुर्थतुर्णवेषमा:
ततारविद्याः etc.” ॥

(C).....Page, 10 (10), “ तस्माद्विभूतस्त्रो विद्या: ” : and

Page, 9 (9), “ आन्वोक्षिकीत्रयोवार्तानां योगक्षेमसाधनो दण्डः । तस्य नीतिदण्डनीतिः ” ।

Raghu°., XVIII, 50, “ स पूर्वजन्मान्तरदृष्टपाराः स्मरत्रिवाक्षेषकरो गुरुणाम् ।
तिस्त्रिवर्गाधिगमस्य मूलं जग्नाह विद्या: प्रकृतीश्च पिण्ड्याः ” ॥

According to Arthaśāstra*, the system of Auśanasa (alias Śukra) recognizes only *one* Vidyā as against other divisions into three or four Vidyās: our modern Śukranīti, I, 152-157, flatly lays down the division into *four* Vidyās.

(D).....For the reasons stated by Kālidāsa and Kauṭilya, preceptors succeed in imparting training :—

Artha°., Page, 10 (10), “ क्रिया हि द्रव्यं विनयति नाद्रव्यम् ” ।

Raghu°., IV 29, “ अवन्ध्ययत्नाश्च बभुत्रत्र ते क्रिया हि वस्त्रप्रहिता प्रसीदति ” ॥

Differently worded, the same principle is early expressed by Kālidāsa in the Mālavikāgnimitra : “ पात्रविशेषे न्यस्तं गुणान्तरं ब्रजति शिल्पमाधातुः ” । I' 6., and,

“ विनेतुरद्रव्यपरिग्रहोऽपि तुद्धिलाघवं प्रकाशयति ” । after, I, 16.

(E).....Capacity for being trained in ‘ Vinaya ’ is of two sorts: one natural and another acquired.

Artha°., Page, 10 (10), “ कृतकस्त्वाभाविकश्च विनयः ” ।

Raghu°., III, 35, “ निसर्गसंस्कारविनीत इत्यसौ नृपेण चक्रे गुवराजशब्दभाक् ” : and

X, 79, “ स्वाभाविकं विनीतत्वं तेषां विनयकर्मणा ।

मुमूँछं सहजं तेजः etc ” ॥

Illustrations under state-craft come to an end with the above instance.

Now we discuss other interesting cases.

What close attention Kauṭilya pays to “ Prayoga ”—to the actualities, or to putting into practice of what is propounded in scientific treatises—should be noted in his verse on Page, 75 (85),

सर्वशास्त्राण्यनुक्रम्य प्रयोगमुपलभ्य च । कौटिल्येन नरेन्द्रायें शासनस्य विधिः कृतः ” ॥

Vatsyāyana shows similar inclination in the Kāmasūtra, Page, 30, 1, 3, 3, 13,

“ तस्माद्विश्वासिकाज्ञनाद्रहसि प्रयोगान्तरालमेकदेहं वा स्त्री गृहोद्यात् ” ।

The logic of his ruling is best explained by himself, Page 28, 1, 3, 3, 5-6,

* Page, 6 (6) “ दण्डनीतिरेका विदेत्यौशनसाः - तस्यां हि सर्वविद्यारम्भाः प्रतिवदा इति ” ।

“प्रयोगग्रंहणं त्वासाम्, प्रयोगस्य च शास्त्रपूर्वकत्वादिति वात्स्यादनः ॥
तत्र केवलमिहैव सर्वत्र हि लोके कति चिरेव शास्त्रः सर्वजनविषयश्च प्रयोगः” ॥

This is a fresh apportioning of proper Provinces of Prayoga and Śāstra ‘Prayoga’ for people in general is held up in prominence by Vātsyāyana along with the sciences. That Kālidāsa shows similar predilection for it with respect to dramatic art is early made known in the first act of Mālavikāgnimitra. Therein, the preceptor is made to proclaim the care he bestowed on it and the success he met with in training Mālavikā, (“दत्तप्रयोगशास्त्रम्” and “यद्यप्तप्रयोगविषये भाविकमुपदिश्यते मया तस्यै” ।). He requests the king to be all attention to it. (“प्रयोगेमकमनाः श्रोतुमर्हति देवः” ।) He and his opponent requested him to test their excellence in it and in Śāstra ‘तदत्रभवानिममां च शास्त्रे प्रयोगे च विमृशतु’ ।) However, only prayoga absorbs the attention of all for the reason, “प्रयोगप्रधानं हि नाट्यशास्त्रम्” ।

Such close attention paid to “Prayoga” is not accidental in case of Kālidāsa. He alludes to it pointedly in Śākuntala noting the wonderful success it brought to him:—“नटी सुविहितप्रयोगतयार्थस्य न किमपि परिहास्यते” । However, the ideal success is still far off as Vātsyāyana and Kālidāsa conceive it to be. Prayoga was not a matter all inclusive; it appealed to and drew applause from common folk. But the final criterion of true worth rested with those who knew Śāstras—who were deservedly called “Learned” :

Kāma°., Page, 10, I 1, 1, 17, “इष्टं हि विदुपां लोके समासव्यासभाषणम्” ।

“आ परितोषाद्विदुपां न साधु मन्य प्रयोगविशानम्” । Śāk°., I, 2,

Such bent of mind identically inclined in one direction, cannot, in our humble opinion, become a matter of study and consequent reproduction.

The following case presents an important phase of unity of perceptions. Discussing the comparative intensities of harms resulting from gambling, addiction to women and drinking, Kauṭilya gives us insight into his views presented against those of other two politicians named “Kauṇapadanta” and “Vātavyādhi” on pages 329-30 (399-400). The former of the two lays stress upon some relieving features of the evils which arise from addiction to women : “खीच्यसनेषु तु स्नानप्रतिकम्भोजनभूमिषु भवत्येव धर्मार्थपरिप्रश्नः ; शक्या च खी राजहिते नियोक्तुमुपांशुदण्डेन ; व्याधिना वा व्यावर्तयितुमवस्थावितुं वा इति” । Kauṭilya differs from him in essentials—in his, observation of the firm hold the evil takes of a person:—“सप्रत्यादेयं चूतं निष्प्रत्यादेयं खीच्यसनमदर्शनं कार्यातिपातनादनर्थधर्मलोपश्च तन्त्रदौर्बल्यं पानानुबन्धेति” ।

Kālidāsa portrays (in the last canto of Raghuvamśa) the life of libidinous king Agnivarna, boldly sketching the course of his vices, subsequent developments of other ones and the sad end of his life. So strong did addiction to

women become a passion with him that it was impossible to wean him back from it even when disease began to consume him.

“ आमयस्तु रतिरागसम्भवो दक्षशाप इव चन्द्रमक्षिणोत् ॥ 48. . .

“ दृष्टदोषमपि तत्र सोऽलजत्सङ्घवस्तु मिषजामनाश्रवः ।

स्वादुभित्तु विषयैर्हृतस्ततो दुःखमिन्द्रियगणो निवार्यते ॥ 49.

The evil of addiction to women is indeed “ निष्प्रत्यादेय ” ! Other consequences do result :—

अदर्शनं—“ गौरवाधपि जातु मन्त्रिणां दर्शनं प्रकृतिकाङ्क्षितं ददौ ।

तद्वाक्षविवरावलम्बिना केवलेन चरणेन कल्पितम् ॥ 7.

पाने This does accompany the vice as told in verses 12th and 46th.

The shred of glory that surrounded him protects him and his State from enemies :

“ तं प्रमत्तमपि न प्रभावतः शेकुराकमित्रुमन्यपार्थिवाः ॥ 48.

Ministers and Purohita are his watchful guardians as told in verses 52 ff., (cf., parallels about a diseased King in our first article).

Kauṭilya thus describes the relieving features of this vice :—

“ नेति कौटिल्यः—“ स्त्रीब्यसने भवलपलोत्पत्तिरात्मरक्षणं चानंददीरेषु विपर्ययो वा बांधेषु अगम्येषु सर्वोच्छितिः ॥”

Kalidasa graphically describes in verses 16 ff., the change of wives in his harem. With the consequence of ‘ अप्लोत्पत्तिः ’ (in this case, pregnancy of his Queen) the curtain drops on the glorious accounts of the race of Raghu.

Consistency of views in such matters, in the uniform reading of human nature, cannot be brought about by skill in copying ; differences naturally predominate if the persons are different. Kālidāsa has shown his master mind in presenting to us the *genesis* of the course the evil takes in the line—“ स्वादुभित्तु विषयैर्हृतस्ततो दुःखमिन्द्रियगणो निवार्यते ” for the cryptic “ निष्प्रत्यादेयं स्त्रीब्यसनम् ” ! This case, by its significance, adds strength to our observations made about the line

“ अतः सोऽभ्यन्तरान्नित्यान्यद्पूर्वमजंयदिपूर्न् ॥ ”

It will be rightly enquired if the punishment for theft and the law of inheritance, as we know them to be in the works of Kālidāsa, were in vogue in the days of Chandragupta Maurya.

THEFT.—Arthaśāstra tells us on page, 66 (74), स्वयमन्यैर्वा राजद्रव्याणामुपभो चन्मुपभोगः । तत्र रत्नोपभोगे चातः ॥ Whatever be the punishment for theft of ordinary jewels, there is no doubt as to that of royal ones. The thief of a bird who carries away the royal ‘ maṇi ’ deserves death as stated in the following stanza of Vikramorvaśīya,

“ आत्मनो वधमाहर्ता कासो विहगतस्करः ।

येन तत्प्रथमं स्तेयं गोप्तुरेव गृहेण कृतम् ॥ V. 1.

Again, in the sixth act of Śākuntala, we have a scene of the seizure of a fisherman by a City-officer and his servants because, he was found to be in possession of the jewelled signet ring of king Dushyanta. [Artha^o., page, 217 (273), “.....the officer in charge of a city (Nāgaraka) shall try to detect internal thieves inside fortified towns.”]

The officer at once charges him with theft and the punishment for the offence expected by all of them is death. The dialogue which follows the seizure is very amusing. To understand its humour, the following passage of Arthaśāstra will help us best.

Page 216 (271) “ When a person is found possessed of articles which he alleges to have been thrown out, lost or forgotten by a third person, he shall prove his innocence by adducing evidence as to time, place and circumstances

of finding the article.”

The fisherman begins to explain the circumstances in which he came by the ring ; but the officers are too impatient to hear him. They frequently interrupt him because, being in *executive* capacity, they are unable to judge the propriety of the beginning he makes. The poor man all the time unfolds his tale as if he is pleading innocence before a trying *judicial* officer.

INHERITANCE.—The law is stated in the Arthaśāstra on pages 160-161 (203-205).—“अदायादकं राजा हरेत्”। The case given in the sixth Act of Śākuntala is illustrative of this law. The minister who decided it decrees that because the merchant who died in a shipwreck, left none to inherit his property, it went to the State-treasury (“अनपत्नश्च किल तपस्वी राजगामी तस्यार्थसञ्चयः” ।). That अपत्न here means much more than an ‘issue’ is clear enough ; had it been otherwise, the minister would have stated the case more fully.

It strikes the king that perhaps, some of the wives of the deceased might be pregnant, in which case, the child in the womb is entitled to receive inheritance. On enquiry, it transpires that one of the widow is known to be pregnant. The king immediately sets aside the decree of his minister and proclaims that he supplies the place of a departed relative because, it matters little whether somebody or nobody is left by the deceased to look after the mourners (“किमनेन संततिरस्ति नास्तीति”). His proclamation is in substance what the Arthaśāstra tells us on page 47 (53),

“बालवृद्ध्याधितव्यसन्यनाथांश्च राजा विभृयात् ।

खोयमप्रजातां प्रजातापाश्च पुत्रान्” ॥

The case turned out in fact to be the unusual one of a pregnant widow, with none to take care of her ; therefore, the duty of looking after her fell

necessarily upon the king. Hence, we do not think that Dushyanta makes here any departure from the established law. He wipes out with the proclamation whatever suspense people felt by the hasty decree of his unwary minister. He awards complete justice which fact goes a great deal to allay the anxieties of people. The law of Vasistha stays forfeiture (in such cases) till the birth of the child. If this law code was known in the times of Kālidāsa, the minister would not have unnecessarily stumbled over the nicety of the situation. It is therefore proper to place the composition of Sākuntala before the code of Vasistha. This decision however rests on an assumption that this incident did not form a *popular* anecdote in the days of Kālidāsa.

For detailed summary of the gradual changes in the above laws, we refer the reader to the excellent summary and to the authorities given by Mr. Nandargirkar in his introduction (pages 130 ff.) to Raghuvamṣa. The unimpeachable inference he comes to is that Kālidāsa necessarily precedes the law codes of Narada, Katyayana, Gautama, Br̥haspati, Śankha, Likhita, Yajnavalkya and Vyasa. "The earliest possible date of Br̥haspati is the first century A.D.....and therefore, Kalidasa may be placed long before this date".

(*To be continued.*)

RAGHUNATHA VARMAN ON THE RIGHT OF THE LOW-CASTE PEOPLE TO BRAHMA-KNOWLEDGE.

(BY MR. R. SHAMA SASTRY, B.A., M.R.A.S.)

NATURE has endowed man with enormous spiritual, intellectual and physical powers and to exercise those powers at his will. But with the growth of society and civilization there came as a social necessity three despots to restrain the exercise of free will. They are Religion, Society in the form of race, nation, class or caste, and Government. Under religious despotism certain classes of men are forbidden to read and discuss the religious literature of certain other classes. Under social tyranny certain classes of men have been condemned as unsociable. Political despotism frequently prohibits certain acts as offences. These restrictions to individual liberty are common to all nations. India is no exception to them. Whatever might be the past history of India during the Vedic period, she came under the tyranny of all the three kinds of despotisms in the medieval times. During the Vedic period there seem to have been no inequalities of caste distinctions. The Vedas and the Vedic sacrifices seem to have formed a national religion common to all classes or castes of people. Even the Sudra seems to have read the Vedas and performed the Vedic sacrifices : for Apastamba (I. 19, 9) prescribes 'Adhava,' 'come, O ! wife,' as the imperative to be used by a Sudra sacrificer in calling his wife to present herself at the full or new moon sacrifice under performance. The Varaha Srauta which is later than Patanjali (1st Century B.C.) whose name it mentions says (II-4) that 'Dasi pinashti,' 'a slave woman powders the rice' to be used in the sacrifice. But with the advent of rigid caste system in the first few centuries of A.D., the Brahmans seem to have shut out the Sudras from the Vedic literature and the Vedic sacrifices and concealed from them the various philosophies, such as the Sankhya, Advaita, Dvaita, Nyaya, Vaishasika, all based more or less on the Upanishads.

Yet even in these dark ages a few learned and liberal stars seem to have been impartially shedding their light over all. Among these Rayakula Raghuttamsa or Raghunatha Varman is one. He seems to have been a learned scholar well versed in Purvamimamsa, Advaita and Nyaya. Among his works, one, 'Laukika-nyayasangraha' or 'Abridged account of current logical principles' has been published in the Benares Chaukamba Series. There is another larger work of his styled the Laukika Nyayaratnakara, or the ocean of current logical principles. In the introduction to his former

work he says that it is an abridgement of the latter. He seems to have lived in Benares. It is not however known when he flourished and where he was born. It is probable that he is not far later than Appayya Dikshita who lived in 1530-1572 A.D. There is a fragmentary manuscript of his Lauki-ka-nyayaratnakara, having neither the beginning nor the end in the Oriental Library at Mysore. In the second part called Pramāna Bhāga of this work he endeavours to establish the right of Sudras and even the Chandalas to the Vedantic knowledge. He does not include the Sudras among the low-castes. The following is the translation of what he says on this important controversial topic :—

" If as stated, the acquisition of knowledge requires no scriptural command or permission, then as the Sudra is also desirous of acquiring knowledge, is he also entitled to undertake activities necessary for the acquisition of knowledge ? Yes, why not ! He has a right to it. Well ! after discussing the question whether a Sudra is entitled to hear of the Vedantic texts necessary for the acquisition of the Saguna-Brahma knowledge treated of in the Upanishads it is decided in what is called the Apa-Sudra-discourse in the Badarayana sutras that the Sudras have no right to Brahma-knowledge. For denying this right to them, the commentaries on the Badarayana sudras are pointed out as an authority. It is stated there that as he cannot read the Vedas, he has no right to Brahma-knowledge. Also as he has no right to read and learn the Vedas, it follows that he has no right to the performance of worship of Saguna Brahma. It follows equally therefore that he has no right to entertain a desire for the acquisition of Brahma-knowledge. Nor can it be said that though he has no right to perform the Vedic rights, he has yet the right to undertake such activities as are necessary for the acquisition of Brahma-knowledge ; for the Smriti says that 'no knowledge should be imparted to the Sudra.' Hence it follows that as he has no right to knowledge in general, he is not at all entitled to desire and take steps to acquire Brahma-knowledge.

Not so :—Though the Sudra has no right to learn the Vedas and to perform the Agnihotra and other sacrificial acts, there is an express statement entitling all the castes inclusive of the Sudra to the acquisition of that knowledge which is necessary to remove the sin that stands in the way of knowledge and which enables him to have a faith in the lord of the Universe. He is also entitled to perform what are called pakayajnas. The express statement (Bhagavadgita IX. 32) is as follows :—

' O son of Pritha, those people of even sinful or low birth, as well as women, Vaisyas, or Sudras, shall reach the supreme state through obtaining shelter in me.'

This verse holds out emancipation through knowledge to all persons born of intermixture of castes such as those from the Suta down to the Chandalas as well as to women who have placed their heart in the Lord of the Universe. It cannot be said that the epithet 'of sinful or low birth' is applicable to those persons that are mentioned in the second half of the Verse; for Vaisyas cannot be said to be of sinful or low birth, in as much as they are entitled to study the Vedas and to acquire the knowledge of Saguna as well as Nirguna Brahma. Nor is that epithet applicable to women and Sudras for the following reason:—

Now what is the meaning of sinful or low birth. If it means those whose past sinful deeds are the cause of their present birth, then there crop up two alternatives: what are these sinful deeds?

Are they those that obstruct knowledge or those that are the cause of misery alone (*dukha*)? If it is taken in the first sense, then it may be applied even to the Dvijas (Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaisya), for it cannot be said that they have no sin obstructive to knowledge; otherwise they might all be born as wise men.

If it be taken in the second sense, i.e., such sin as is the cause of misery alone, then those to whom such epithet is applied would be only those who are always miserable with no trace of happiness, for there would be no merit to bring them happiness.

If that word (*pāpayoni*) be taken in the third sense, i.e., those whose birth is miserable, then that epithet can be applied to Dvijas also, for it cannot be said that their birth has no misery at all. If it be taken in the first sense, i.e., those whose birth is caused by sin obstructive to knowledge, then they can have no shelter in the Lord of the Universe, because the Sruti says that merit can be acquired only by meritorious deeds; also because the Mahabharata says that faith in god will come to man only when he is rid of sins which cause him revolve in millions of births of manifold forms, and also because there is the Purana saying that faith in Krishna originates in men only after their passing through a million of births and after their getting rid of sins by means of meditation and concentration of mind. Hence it follows that faith originates in men only when they get rid of those sins which are obstructive to true knowledge. Hence the first meaning does not hold good.

Nor can the word *pāpa*, sin, be taken to mean only such sin as causes low birth, for that meaning is involved in the inconsistency of interdependence, as sin is the cause of low birth and low birth is the cause of sin. Nor can lowness in birth be defined; for it is not even now clearly understood. Accordingly there is a story in the Vishnupurana illustrating the difficulty of defining low birth. The story is as follows:—

' There was a discussion among some sages as to in what times the least

meritorious deed is productive of the greatest merit and with what deeds man will be happy. In view of clearing off the doubt, the sages went to Vyasa. Seeing him bathing in the Ganges, they waited for him on the bank. Having risen after plunging himself in the water once, he said "Kali is good and good is Kali." After plunging a second time, he said "good! good! O Sudra thou art happy" (dhanya). After plunging a third time, "Happy are the women, they are happy, who else is happier than they?" Then he came out. After being saluted by the sages, he asked them why they came there. They said that they came to have their doubts cleared off by him. Then saying "Let our doubt be aside," they said that they wanted to know what made him say about the goodness of Kali, Sudra and women. Then with a smile implying that the sages could not understand that his statement about Kali, Sudras, and Women was in reply to their own doubt, he said, as follows:—

"What in the Krita age was acquired in the course of ten years and in the Treta age in the course of a year, and in the Dvapara in the course of a month is acquired in the Kali age in the course of a day and night, whether it be the result of penance, or celibacy, or of sinful deeds. Hence I say that Kali is good. This is the meaning of my first statement. As to the second, it is this:—The Dvijas attain the heavens by means of severe penance. But the Sudra has only to serve the Dvijas and to perform the Pakayajnas, whereby he attains heaven. Hence he is happy or happier than the twice-born. Nor have the Sudras those deitic rules which are enjoined upon the twice-born. Hence I said that the lot of the Sudras was happy. This is the explanation of my words commanding the Sudras. Then as regards women, O sages, you must know that whoever among women attends to the needs of her husband in her acts, thoughts or words will attain the same world that her husband attains and that, too, with far less difficulty. This is the explanation of my approbation of women's lot." Then the sages were perfectly satisfied and returned to their own places.

Thus from this story it is clear that it is not proper to speak of women and Sudras as persons of sinful or low birth. If even in spite of the Vishnupurana statement, women and Sudras are regarded as persons of sinful birth, then the inconsistency of sin being the cause of low birth and low birth being the cause of sin cannot be avoided. Unless it is avoided, no consistent meaning can possibly be made. The mention of women, Vaisyas and Sudras in the lowest social scale in the Bhagavadgita verse quoted above is merely to encourage by flattering words the Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Arjuna among them. Hence it follows that the word 'Brahmana' in the Upanishad statement that 'Brahmans desire to know Brahma through the Vedas, sacrifices, gifts, and indestructible penance' must be interpreted to mean not merely the

three upper classes, the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, and the Vaisyas, but also people of all castes inclusive of the Sudra. It cannot be urged that the story of the Vishnupurana merely points out the duties which lead women and Sudras to emancipation, but does not at all entitle them to Brahma-knowledge; for in accordance with Mimamsa principle of ' Combination and Separation ' those very duties, when observed by women and Sudras with no desire for their results and with the sole aim of pleasing the Lord of the Universe, will entitle them to attain Brahma-knowledge.

Nor can it be urged that the mention of the word Yajna sacrifice in the Upanishad passage implies only those who are entitled to learn the Vedas and perform the sacrifices; for the expressions ' though the Vedas, with sacrifices, gifts, and indestructible penance ' mean several means but not one collective means. Accordingly the meaning of the passage is as follows:—

' They desire to attain Brahma knowledge through the Vedas, or through sacrifice, or through gifts, etc:—Hence it is clear that there are different means. Also that this is the correct interpretation, is borne out not merely by the saying which enjoins on widowers only the giving of gifts for the attainment of Brahma knowledge, but also by the statement according to which faith in the lord of the Universe is a means for emancipation, commonly open to all castes. If a collective sense were intended, then the word 'cha', '(=and)' must necessarily have been used in the Upanishad passage. In those passages where a collective sense is intended, as in (*Agnaye prajapataye cha*), ' To Agni and prajapati, the word ' cha ' is invariably found.

Also it cannot be urged that as the Sudras have no means of understanding the Vedantic texts, they cannot possibly entertain any desire to attain Brahma-knowledge; for according to the Puranic statement that ' one should lecture to the people of all the four castes, having a Brahmin in front ' the Sudras are entitled to hear of Brahma-knowledge and thereby acquire a taste for it. As to the text that " No knowledge should be imparted to the Sudra ", it must be interpreted to mean only knowledge of sacrificial acts, which after all is by no means useful to the attainment of Brahma-knowledge; otherwise, i.e., if he is not allowed the right to education, he will have no means of understanding the elementary principles of his own duties. His duties are thus enumerated:—

The Sudras form the fourth caste. They have to maintain truth, avoid anger, observe cleanliness and wash their legs in lieu of sipping water, perform ancestral worship, give subsistence to their servants, have contentment, and serve the higher castes.

Even if following the text that no education should be imparted to the Sudra, persistence in denying all kinds of education to the Sudras

be obstinately maintained, even then there is the chance of Sudras knowing the magnitude of learning in general and of their own duties in particular, for following the Smriti saying that 'Manu is of opinion that even doing a hundred wicked acts, one should acquire the means of supporting one's old parents, one's chaste wife or young son,' some destitute Brahmins would even go to the Sudras to earn their livelihood by begging, as they are said in the Puranas to have done so a number of times. From such Brahmanas Sudras will learn much about their own duties and about Brahma-knowledge.

It cannot be urged that this assertion will be against the conclusion arrived at in the Apa-sudra discourse in the Bodarayanasutras, where Brahma knowledge is denied to the Sudra; for what is denied to the Sudras in the Vedanta sutras is not Brahma-knowledge but the study of those Vedic texts in which both the Saguna and Nirguna forms of Brahma-knowledge are treated of and which only those who are gone through the Sacred String, and initiation, and other sacramental *purificatory* ceremonials are entitled to study under a teacher. As to the Sudras they are said to be free from sin and to require no purificatory rites. Accordingly a Smriti says 'There is no sin in the Sudra and therefore he needs no purificatory rites'.

Nor can it be urged that just as the knowledge of Saguna Brahma which required Vedic texts for its observance is denied to the Sudra in the Apa-sudra discourse, so the knowledge of Nirguna Brahma is equally denied to him; for it is not possible to deny the desire for knowledge about Nirguna Brahma aroused in the heart of a Sudra by the intrinsic beauty of the subject matter itself. It has already been stated that Brahma-knowledge requires no scriptural command for attempting to learn it; nor does it require the knowledge of the other ceremonial portion of the Vedas. Hence it cannot be countermanded and denied to any person who seeks it. As the experience of Brahmananda or blissful state in Svarga or heavenly bliss is an unavoidable result or consequence, it can never be prohibited; for results or consequences of effects can by no means be susceptible of command or prohibition. Hence just as the experience of heavenly bliss when acquired as a result requires only a desire for it, so the knowledge of Nirguna Brahma requires only a desire for it in the knower. This cannot be prohibited. As to the knowledge of Saguna Brahma, it is a sort of ritualistic practice and as such it requires the knowledge of the Veda wherein the methods of the Upasana or worship of Saguna Brahma are treated of in detail. Hence it being a kind of work, the worshipper requires a scriptural command before attempting to observe it. So there is vast difference between the knowledge of the worship of Saguna Brahma and the knowledge of the Nirguna Brahma.

It cannot be also urged that as the Sudras are not entitled to learn the Vedanta, they can neither acquire Brahma-knowledge nor have their natural desire for Brahma-knowledge satisfied; for though they are not entitled to study the Upanishads, they can very well study the Bhagavatgita, the Itihasa and the Puranas, inasmuch as the Smriti text that one should teach the people of all the four castes entitles them to acquire Brahma-knowledge through those treatises, though not through the Vedas and the Upanishads. This is the purport of the concluding portion of Sankara's commentary on the Apasudra-discourse of the Brahmasutras. It is quite possible to acquire the knowledge of the identity of Brahma with Atman through Itihasa and Puranas.

For the same reason women are also entitled to Brahma-knowledge. Such being the case the epithet 'Pāpayōni,' 'of sinful or low birth' in the Bhagavatgita verse quoted above cannot be justly applied to women. Therefore it should be independently taken to mean a different set of people who are born of women of higher classes married to men of lower classes. It is the offspring of such marriages that are styled here to be of low birth. Or the word may be taken to mean those whose sin is merely the cause of their low birth, but of nothing else. Accordingly if the word be interpreted in any of these two senses, it comes to mean those who are the offspring of marriage of lower caste men with women of higher castes as well as persons born of illegal intercourse. There is no reason to deny the right of Brahma-knowledge even to these persons, inasmuch as they can possibly happen to have faith in the Lord of the Universe in virtue of their good deeds done in a number of past births. Accordingly there is a story narrated in the Mahabharata of one Dharmavyadha, who, though born in the family of hunters, exhibited his inclination to tread in the righteous path in virtue of his good deeds done in past births. In the same epic there is also the story of a Brahmacharin who, though born as a Chandala on account of a wicked act acquired a taste to tread in the righteous path in virtue of his good deeds done in past births.

It cannot also be said that such low caste people as Chandalas have no right to acquire faith in god and to pronounce the Mantra containing the name of the lord of the Universe; for their right to have faith in god and pronounce the sacred mantras is distinctly stated in the Brahmostarakhanda as follows:— "Of what use are the many Mantras; of what use the sacred rivers and waters; of what use the sacrifices? He who has in his heart the Mantra 'Om Namah Sivāya,' which is the best of all Mantras, which is the highest peak of the Vedantic knowledge, which, as a Saivaite Mantra of six syllables is the source of all knowledge and which, without 'Om' is called the five

syllabled Mantra, is one which is learnt by women, sudras, and persons of mixed or low birth (Sankirna) in view of attaining emancipation."

Moreover it is a mistake to think that the word Sankirna 'a person of mixed castes' means a person who is born of marriage of a high caste man with a lower caste woman, but not a person born of marriage of a high caste woman with a lower caste man, because there is no authority to interpret it in this way. There is on the other hand a passage of the Katha Brahmana which goes to give high social rank even to a Chandala if he merely utters the word 'Siva.' The passage is as follows :—

" If a Chandala utters the word Siva, with him (a man of higher castes) should freely enter into conversation, should reside with him, and should eat with him."

Of similar purport is a passage in the Jabala Brahmana. Also the Sri-madbhāgavata expounds the same view :—

" The people of the Kirata tribe, of the Hunas, the Andhras, the Pulindas, the Pulkasas, the Abhiras, the Kankas, the Pavanas, the Khasas and other sinful people of other tribes happen to be purified of their sins by the mere contact with those who have their heart knit in Vishnu : to such magnificent Vishnu, I bow down."

From these passages it is clear that even persons of low castes are entitled to cultivate faith in god and thus get rid of their sins so as to be worthy of being admitted to the society of high castes. If they have no right to Brahma-knowledge, and yet cultivate faith in god, they cannot be purified at all ; for no man that is not entitled to learn the Vedas will be purified by learning the Vedas. Hence it follows that even persons of low castes have a right to Brahma-knowledge and become thereby purified of their sins, as stated in the passages just quoted. Such being the case there is no reason to exclude persons of mixed castes also from their right to Brahma-knowledge. It cannot be urged that, as it is not possible for people of low-castes to understand the sanctity of divine names, they cannot be expected to utter the names of God ; for it is quite easy for them to know the sanctity of divine names and utter them in virtue of the meritorious deeds done by them in their previous births. Nor can it be urged that persons of lower castes other than that of Sutas or chariot drivers as well as the Mlechha and other tribes mentioned in the Puranas have no right even to hear of the contents of the Itihasa and the Purana works, whereby they may expect to acquire Brahma-knowledge, and that accordingly their worship of the Lord of the Universe will be of no use ; for, people of mixed castes will in consequence of their faith in God be born in the family of people belonging to the three upper classes who are entitled to hear of the contents of the Vedantic texts and thus acquire Brahma-

knowledge. Just as the people of the three upper classes perform their rites and worship Saguna Brahma in view of acquiring celestial body and get emancipation out of that body, so there is no objection to the people of mixed castes performing bhajana or worship of the Lord of the Universe in view of being born in the family of persons of high castes and acquiring the right to study the Vedanta texts. Accordingly the Mahabharata tells us how Dharmavyadha expounded the nature of Dharma to a Brahman called Kausika and told the latter that after his death he would be born as a Brahman and attain emancipation through Brahma-knowledge.

After all, the direction in which past Karma acts is a mystery. Some persons of low castes may in virtue of their good deeds in their previous birth acquire Brahma-knowledge in the face of obstacles to it. Accordingly a story is told in the Markandeyapurana of the sons of a sage who, though born as birds on account of their misdeeds, showed signs of Brahma-knowledge. The Bhagavadgita (IX. 30-31) also says :—

“Also, however wicked a man might be, if he worships me worshipping none else, he must ever be deemed righteous, for he is rightly resolved. Soon he becomes dutiful and attains to eternal peace, O sun of Kunti; be thou assured that my devotee is never destroyed.”

Likewise in the Brihad Vasishtha Samhita :—

“Having got rid of all sins and being possessed of all merits he who recites the name of Vishnu will be born as the wisest.”

Similarly in Harivamsa :—

“Whoever recites the nāma (name) of Vishnu after rising from his bed will have all of his sins burnt at once.”

In the same way in the Bhavishyottara :—

“Whoever recites the words, Rama, Rama, will be free from all sins, whether physical, mental or verbal.”

Likewise in the Markandeyapurana :—

“Whoever recites thrice a day the names of Siva, such as Mahadeva, Mahesa, Sankara, Vrishabhadvaja, Suli, Kamantaka, Hara, Srikantha, Isvara, Ambikānātha, Rudra, and Siva will be free from sins and attain to the world of Siva, be he a cow-killer, or an ungrateful wretch, or a destroyer of an embryo, or a hero, or a woman, a child, or a drunkard, or one who has married a low-caste woman.”

In all these places as in other places where earnest worship of god is declared to bring forth immediate emancipation to the devotee, the explanation is that the devotee will attain Brahma-knowledge either in the same birth or in a next birth and thereby attain emancipation; for blind faith without correct understanding of Brahma will not lead to emancipation.

Blind faith is thus referred to in the following passages :—

“ Whoever worships Siva who is Rudra and the consort of Uma, will after enjoying happiness in this world get into the highest abode; for God Siva will release him from all sins.”. (Saturudriya in the Mahabharata).

“ Having meditated upon the consort of Uma, the Lord of the Universe, the God of three eyes, of black-neck and the eternal Calm, the devotee will reach the Universal witness who is beyond all darkness.” (Kaivalyopanishad.)

The same course holds good with ascetics who have renounced the world. They too will acquire power and control over their mind only after they go through all successive stages of Sagunopasana or worship of god in the concrete form with Vedic rites. The same is the explanation of the emancipation that is said to result from a bath in the Ganges. Mere bath in the water of the Ganges will not bring salvation, but will only lead to the acquisition of Brahma-knowledge which is the direct or immediate cause of emancipation.

Bhattacharvarasaundaraya holds the same view in his Sachchhūdrā-chārasmriti. He says that knowledge is not a monopoly of the Brahmins and that in the Upanishad passage where Brahmins are said to acquire Brahma-knowledge through the Vedas or through sacrifices, or through gifts or through indestructible penance, the word Brahman does not mean merely a Brahman but people of all castes. (P. 24 Manuscript. Oriental Library).

In page 25 of his Sachchhūdrā-chārasmriti he says that a good Sudra is equal to a Vaisya and that those who are not given to drink and adhere to their family customs are to be regarded as good Sudras and that in the fifth or seventh generation, the Sudras may attain a higher caste provided they do not swerve from righteous path for five or seven generations continuously. In page 26 of the same work he goes a step further and says that if a Sudra is initiated in the Saiva religion and observes the Saiva religion to the very letter, he will be worthy of social intercourse with the higher castes. The verse runs as follows :—

Dikshitasya cha dhirasya Sivabhakti parasyacha

Tasmai deyam tato grahyam trishu varneshvayam vidhīḥ : If he is initiated in the Saiva religion and is boldly following the worship of Siva, the people of other castes may give him and take from him (everything with no exception) : this is the rule for the three castes.

I have already pointed out how a good Sudra is declared to be regarded as a Vaisya, i.e., as coming under the third caste. Accordingly the Sudras are authorized here to give anything to the other two higher castes and take anything from them. Whether in this give-and-take policy intermarriage and interdining are also included or not, is a question which appears to have been

vigourously discussed by the *Tengales* and *Vadahales* among the Srivaishnava people. The *Tengales* or those of the Vaishnavites who put on Y-shaped mark on their forehead attribute this verse to Harita, a Smriti-writer, and follow this verse in their social intercourse with Vaishnavite Sudras. They say that Bhagavata Sudras should be treated to be on a par with the best Brahmans and that Brahman girls may be given to them in marriage and that the girls of the Bhagavata Sudras may be married by Brahmans. The same view they hold in the question of interdining also.

The *Vadahales* or those who put on a U-shaped mark on their fore-head say that Brahmans should have no intermarriage and interdining with the Bhagavata Sudras, and that there may be only an interchange of religious knowledge between them. This view has been strongly advocated by Vedanta Desikar in Srivaishnava-samayāchāra-nishkarsha (printed in Kanchi). In this work a number of verses are quoted from the Puranas and Smritis to prove the high honour in which truly Vaishnavite Sudras are to be held by all Brahmans. One of the verses from the Mahabharata says that those Sudras who are devoted to Vishnu are Brahmans and that those Brahmans who have no faith in Vishnu are Sudras. A story is also narrated in the Kuruka Mahatmya that once the Devas called the Bhagavatas Sudras and thereby lost their eyes and that when they again earnestly respected the Bhagavatas as Brahmans they regained their eyes. Another verse quoted from the Mahabharata says that the food from the hand of a Bhagavata is as sacred as the water of the Ganges, as the water used in ablution of the idol of Vishnu, as abstinence from food on the day of *Ekadasi*.

Thus both the Saivaites and Vaishnavaites declare the Sudra Bhaghavathas to be on a par with the Brahmans. To what extent this propaganda of the two cults converted the Sudras to Brahman caste and enlarged it, is a question that has not yet been taken up for investigation. Both among the Vaishnavas and the Saivas there are a number of sects with which other Brahman sects have no social intercourse. Still they are regarded as Brahmans. Whatever might be the precise sources of the various Brahman sects, it is certain the propaganda of Saiva and Vaishnava cults or religions among the Dravidian races gave rise to numerous sects. The Saiva and Vaishnava Agamas formed the sacred literature of these sects and thus there grew up a mass of literature for their religious and philosophical studies.

It is a question not easily solved why the Brahmans did not allow the Sudras and other low-caste people to study their Vedas and perform all the Vedic sacrifices. It is known from the Smriti texts that they once carried on intermarriages and interdining with the Sudras and taught them Brahma-knowledge. Still so far as the Vedic literature is concerned, it was

a sealed book to the Sudras. Though the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas had express permission to study the Vedas and perform the Vedic sacrifices, they seem to have abandoned it, when with the advent of the Jaina and the Buddhistic religions they lost faith in the efficacy of Vedic sacrifices. It is probable that in order to guard the Vedas from the Jainas and the Buddhists who severely criticised them as a sort of unrighteous literature the Brahmins concealed the Vedas and prevented all non-Brahmins from studying them. If the non-Brahmins had continued to have faith in the Vedas and the Vedic animal sacrifice they would probably have become a national literature accessible to all classes of the Hindus. As to Brahma-knowledge, all classes of the Hindus seem to have had a taste for it. Hence it is likely that the Brahmanas permitted all non-Brahmins to cultivate Vedantic studies through Puranic and Agama literary works. Had not the Jainas and the Buddhists appeared on the religious scene of India with their logical denunciations of the Brahmins, their Vedas, their Vedic animal sacrifices, their plurality of wives married from all the four classes, and their unscrupulous addiction to flesh and liquor, there would have been no isolated rigid castes, sects, and sectarian literary works. But for Jainism and Buddhism, the Brahmins would probably have continued to observe their old practices of polygamy, flesh-eating, and drinking of liquor, with no castes and caste-literature. Thus the reasons for withholding the Vedic literature from the non-Brahmins seems to be fear from unfavourable criticism rather than a desire to conceal knowledge. Otherwise Brahma-knowledge also would have been withheld from the non-Brahmins."

A NOTE ON THE MYSORE THRONE.

(BY MR. B. PUTTAIYA, B.A.)

THE Throne is the most significant emblem of Royalty among Hindu and Mussalman Rulers just as the Crown is in England. In the Hindu historical accounts, hardly any king is mentioned without being described as having ascended his Throne, and in many cases the Throne stands for the King himself. The King is always a सिंहासनाधीश्वर or सिंहासनाधिपति, *i.e.*, the Lord of the Throne. He is no Ruler without a Throne to ascend upon and to succeed to. Even minor chiefs on their gaining independence set up Thrones. Hence the Throne plays a great part in the polity of Hindu Rajas and has a political significance of no ordinary magnitude. Its history therefore is full of romantic interest as it is so intimately related with the evolution of the history of the Ruling Family itself.

In Mysore, the interest that centres round the Throne is not only romantic but also unique. For in all the hundreds of Indian States now extant in India, there is probably not one whose Ruler ascends the Throne every year during the Dusserah with all the ancient religious pomp and ceremony as in Mysore and inspires the people with the devotion and loyalty that such a spectacle evokes. All of us who have witnessed the wonderful pageant of the Dusserah in Mysore have no doubt been moved at the spectacle and felt interested to know the history of the Throne round which centres so much ceremony, splendour and enthralling interest.

The general impression now prevalent is that the Mysore Throne was the gift of the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzebe to Maharaja Chikkadeva Raja Wadiyar of Mysore in the year 1699. Mr. Wilks doubts this story though he does not refute it entirely. He says:—"Whether Aurangzebe actually conferred the high honors which were pretended to be received, would perhaps be a balanced question if it were of sufficient importance to merit a separate discussion. It is sufficient for our present purpose to state that they were publicly assumed, and as far as it is known, were never questioned, although a similar assumption on the part of the Raja or Zemindar of Bednor (namely, that of sitting on a Throne), attracted the vengeance of Aurangzebe some years afterwards..... Part of the ceremonial was the new dignity alleged to have been conferred by the Emperor of being seated on an ivory throne. This was afterwards used by his successors and is the same which, in the year 1799, was found in a lumber room of Tippoo Sultan's Palace,

was employed in the installation of the present Raja (H.H. Krishnaraja Wadiyar III) and is always used by him on occasions of public ceremony."

It will be seen from the above extract that Mr. Wilks is of opinion that the Throne and other honors were probably not the gifts of the Emperor Aurangzebe but were stated to be so at the time when Chikka Deva Raja Wadiyar's Embassy returned to Seringapatam from Delhi and that the Throne found in Tippu's lumber room in 1799 was the same round which this story centres. But Mr. M. A. Srinivasachar who has appended a learned criticism on some of the doubtful episodes of the History of Mysore in his Preface to the Kannada Work "Chikkadeva Raja Vamsavali." (Genealogy of Chikkadeva Raja Wadiyar) furnishes evidence derived from the inscriptions that the Throne came into use in the Mysore Royal Family in the time of Raja Wadiyar in the year 1610 A.D., when the latter made Seringapatam his capital upon the abdication and retirement to Talkad of the Viceroy of Vijayanagar who was ruling at Seringapatam. He says:—"Vamsha Ratnakara" (A History of Mysore in Kannada written by the Pandits of the Palace in the time of His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar III and printed in H.H. Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar's time) mentions that Sri Rangaraya (Viceroy of the Vijayanagar Kings at Seringapatam) gave away the Throne to Raja Wadiyar in 1609—10 A.D. It is recorded in Inscription No. 63 of T. Narsipur that Raja Wadiyar was using the Throne. Similarly, Inscription No. 103 of Seringapatam records that Kantirava Narasara-ja Wadiyar (third in descent from Raja Wadiyar and second in ascent from Chikkadevaraja Wadiyar) was using the Throne in 1645 A.D. It is also clear from Inscription No. 94 of Seringapatam that Chikkadevaraja Wadiyar himself possessed the Throne in 1678 (*i.e.*, over twenty years before the alleged gift by Emperor Aurangzebe). It is also clearly recorded in Inscription No. 2 of the Mysore Taluk written in 1827 in the time of Krishnaraja Wadiyar III that the Throne was in hereditary use by the Mysore Rajas from the time of Raja Wadiyar. In the light of these facts, the story that the Throne was the gift of Aurangzebe in 1700 A.D. is not worthy of credence".

This unimpeachable evidence of inscriptions is corroborated by Mr. Lewis Rice who in his work "Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions" 1909 Edition, Page 127, says as follows:—"Raja Wadiyar is said (Seringapatam 14, 64 and T. Narsipur 63) to have overcome Tirumalaraya (the Vijayanagar Viceroy) and seated himself on the jewelled throne in Seringapatam. Krishnaraja Wadiyar III's inscriptions run from 1800 A.D. (Seringapatam 8) down to 1868. One in Lakshmiramana temple in Mysore commemorates his installation there on the throne of his ancestors on 30th June 1799".

Further support to these views is furnished in the "Annals of the Mysore

Royal Family" published in Kanarese in 1916 which may be stated to be practically a revised edition of the "Vamsha Ratnakara" referred to above, which was written by the Pandits of the Palace from the records of the Palace Library. Mention is made in this book of the names of the presents and honours sent by the Emperor Aurangzebe to Chikkadevaraja Wadiyar through the ambassador who had gone to his court from Mysore but the Throne is not stated to be one among them. It says:—"On the ambassador from Mysore being introduced to the Emperor, Aurangzebe said, "Maharaja Chikkadevaraja Wadiyar is enjoying the use of a Throne on which the ancient Pandavas were installed: he need not therefore salute others in return." Then follows a long account of the ancient history of the Throne tracing its origin to great antiquity. Coming down to more recent times, however, the following interesting history of the Throne is given:—"Srirangaraya, the representative of the Vijayanagar Kings at Seringapatam was using a throne that was in hereditary possession of the Vijayanagar family from time immemorial. In 1336 A.D. the famous Sage Vidyaranya installed Hakka or Hariraya, the founder of the Vijayanagar family, on this ancient throne at Anegondi. It was used in the family line for a period of 143 years until the time of Tirumalaraya. This king had four sons to the eldest of whom by name Srirangaraya he gave away the territories around Seringapatam and the Throne which was consequently removed from Anegondi to Seringapatam. Seven Kings or representatives of the Vijayanagar Kings ruled at Seringapatam and used the Throne till 1609 when Srirangaraya VII, the last of the representatives, voluntarily relinquished the Throne of his family in favour of Raja Wadiyar and retired to Talkad with his wives Alamelamma and Rangamma. Raja Wadiyar thereupon ascended this historic throne with all becoming ceremonies at Seringapatam in 1610 A.D."

From this time evidently dates the great pageant witnessed by thousands of people of the ascending of the Throne by the Maharajas of Mysore in the Dusserah season of every year. A glowing account of how Raja Wadiyar did it for the first time is given in the Annals. There cannot therefore be any doubt that the Throne now being used by our Maharaja is the ancient and historic one upon which his great ancestors from the time of Raja Wadiyar were installed and glorified. How Emperor Aurangzebe came to be associated with the Throne can only be explained by the diplomatic move of Maharaja Chikkadevaraja Wadiyar in despatching an embassy to Delhi with a view to enhance his own prestige in the eyes of his subjects and subordinate chiefs who were found planning mischief and behaving insolently. The publicity of the great and unique honors conferred upon him by no less a person than Emperor himself would create a profound

impression and put down all plots and schemes, inspire awe and secure unswerving fealty and loyalty. The course adopted by the Maharaja not only accomplished what it was intended to do but also gave currency to the story of the Throne.

Mr. Lewis Rice writing in the Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I, Page 278 regarding the Mysore Throne summarises what has been stated in the foregoing paragraphs but his remarks unfortunately do not throw any further light on the supposed gift of Aurangzebe. He says : " This throne is one of the articles of interest in the Palace. The original structure which was of figwood overlaid with ivory, is generally stated to have been sent by Aurangzebe to Chikkadeva Raja in 1609 ; but some doubt has been thrown on this assertion by Col. Wilks."

" The Palace legend runs that it was discovered buried at Penukonda, by the founders of the Vijayanagar Empire, Hakka or Harihara and Bukka, to whom its locality was revealed by an ascetic named Vidyaranya, and that it was handed down from dynasty to dynasty until it came into the possession of Raja Wadiyar. According to the same legend, it had once been the Throne of the Pandus, who reigned at Hastinapura, and Kampula Raja is said to have brought it thence and buried it at Penukonda."

" It is certain, however, that the ivory throne was used by Chikkadeva Raja and his successors up to the accession of Tippu Sultan ; that it was discovered in a lumber room of the Muhammadan Palace after the downfall of Seringapatam, and employed at the Coronation of the restored Raja. Since then it has entirely lost its original character, the ivory which covered the figwood of which the throne is made having been in its turn overlaid with gold and silver plating, which is carved into figures relating to Hindu Mythology ; the *simha*, or popular Hindu representation of a lion, whence the Sanscrit term for throne derives its name, being predominant, while the *hamsa*, a mythical bird, regarding which the legend runs that the head on which its shadow falls will once be encircled by a crown, surmounts the structure."

" As the Crown in Travancore, so the throne is the peculiar emblem of royalty in Mysore, and on this account the Mysore Raja is distinguished by the appellation of Simhāsanādhipati or ruler enthroned."

It is very likely therefore that the story must have been given out for diplomatic reasons. As a parallel instance lending support to this view, the following extract from Buchanan may be quoted :—Writing in May 20th, 1800, from Seringapatam, he says that " the rebuilding of the old Palace of Mysore was commenced. It is now so far advanced as to be a comfortable dwelling ; and I found the young prince seated in it, on a handsome throne, which

had been presented to him by the Company." (Buchanan's Travels, Vol. I Page 46).

After this, we can easily imagine what the general belief about the throne will be three centuries hence! It would be no wonder if at that time people spoke of it as a gift by the East India Company. Though there is no gainsaying the fact that it was *restored* by the East India Company, the difference between *gift* and *restoration* is so vast that it obliterates reality and magnifies the semblance of it. We are therefore right in concluding that we are possibly duped of the Aurangzebe story as much as, if not more than, our posterity would be about the Company story.

In order to demonstrate the antiquity of the Mysore Throne, the following extracts from the Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department which are the fruits of the researches of Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, the Director, are of great value and interest :—

"A copper-plate inscription of Chamaraja Wadiyar VII, dated 1623 A.D., gives the genealogy of Chamaraja Wadiyar who is referred to as 'the lord of the celebrated throne of Bhoja in Seringapatam.'" (Page 23 of Report for 1907-08).

"An inscription in the Prasanna Krishnaswami temple at Mysore dated 1829 gives the date on which Krishnaraja Wadiyar III was installed on the throne of his ancestors after the fall of Tippu. The date given corresponds to 30th June 1799. It was in this temple that the installation took place in 1799" (*ibid.*).

"Another inscription in the Sri Prasanna Krishnaswami temple at Mysore dated 1829 records that Krishnaraja Wadiyar III seated on the jewelled throne of Mysore, on which Raja Wadiyar and other kings descended from the lunar race had successively sat, performed nine kinds of service." Page 24 (*ibid.*).

"One of the records dated 1680 gives the pedigree of Chikkadeva Raja Wadiyar and states that after Kantirava Narasa Raja came Dodda-Deva-Raja who sat on the jewel throne of Sri Ranga Raya. In his line was born Chikkadeva Raja." Para 130, Page 58, Report for 1918).

"Two pictures with letter press, one on paper, dated 1857 and the other on a brass plate, dated 1860 which is in the form of a lotus and therefore called progeny-lotus are framed and kept in the Jaganmohan Palace, Mysore. They give the genealogy of the Mysore Kings comprising in all 22 rulers together with some details about each About Raja Wadiyar it states that he acquired the throne of Dharmaraja, was crowned at Seringapatam in Śaka year 1533(1610 A.D.), and about Chikkadeva Raja Wadiyar it states that he got the title Raja Jagadeva together with some insignia from Delhi. (There is no mention of the throne). The picture on the brass plate has letter press

round it in the form of a learned prose passage giving an account of Krishnaraja Wadiyar III. In this he is stated to have sat on the resplendent jewel throne on which Raja-Kshitipala (Raja Wadiyar) and other paramount kings descended from the lunar race had successively sat in the great Mahisura Samsthana, the abode of the wealth of the Karnataka country, which was an ornament of all the countries that adorned the whole circle of the earth." (Para 137, Pages 62—64, *ibid.*).

“A Sanskrit inscription on the gold umbrella of His Highness the Maha-raja's Throne in the Mysore Palace, consisting of 24 *anushtubh* verses, invokes blessings on Krishnaraja Wadiyar III. It is addressed to the king. After a rhetorical description of the umbrella in two verses, it prays that all gods and goddesses may give their blessings to the king seated on the hereditary jewel Throne. The umbrella is thus described :—‘ Afraid of defeat by the spotless moon of your fame, the moon serves you in the guise of an umbrella. Treating with contempt the brilliance of the sun by the power of your patronage, the moon of your umbrella causes joy at all times to the circle of the earth (otherwise to the lilies.)’ (Para 114, Page 44, of Report for 1919.)

A fairly good description of the Throne is given by Mr. Lewis Rice in the extract from the Gazetteer already quoted. I shall conclude by quoting an old description of the same from Mr. R. Narasimhachar's Archaeological Report for 1918, para 145, page 69 :—“In a work written by Krishnaraja Wadiyar III in 1859 styled *Devatanama-Kusumamanjari*, a description of the Mysore Throne is given among other things. The description runs as follows :—“The Throne is adorned with golden plantain posts and golden mango leaves; has a bird set with jewels at the top of the shaft of the umbrella; is rendered charming by female figures at the sides of the flight of steps; has pearl tassels around the umbrella; has a tortoise seat; yalis on two sides, and creepers on four sides; has on the east face elephants, on the south horses, on the west infantry, and on the north chariots; has Brahma on the south, Siva on the north and Vishnu in the middle; has Vijaya and other four lions, two Sarabhas, two horses, and four swans at the angles; is beautified by the figures of the regents of the directions and Naga nymphs; is decorated with the *swastika* diagram and a pearl awning and is open on all sides.”

THE SOLAR SIGNS IN INDIAN LITERATURE.

(By B. V. KAMESWARA AYYAR, ESQ., M.A.)

SOME years* ago, I wrote, "if we meet with any reference to the twelve solar signs of the Zodiac in any passage of an Indian work, that work or at least that passage, cannot be earlier than the 5th century after Christ." That opinion was one to which I had come thirty years ago and I was also of opinion that the evidence in support of it was so obvious and conclusive that there was no necessity to set it forth elaborately. But I find that there are still a great many Indian scholars who are not ready to accept this view and I therefore think that it might serve some useful purpose if I place before you the considerations which have led me to this conclusion—a conclusion already arrived at by Western Scholars who have investigated the question.

The disinclination of Indian scholars to accept this position is, I think, partly due to their unwillingness to admit a borrowing from other nations and partly to the idea that such admission may lead to the acceptance of a later date for some Indian works than they are prepared to admit. It may also be due in part to the fact that the theory originated with European Orientalists who are in general not favourable to the claims of Indian literature either to originality or to remote antiquity. Whatever it may be due to, there is no doubt that it exists.

To illustrate this point, Mr. G. R. Kaye writes thus of Indian astronomy and mathematics of the second period†; ".....the Hindu Science of Astronomy and Astrology have been proved to be off-shoots of Greek teaching..... Many of the early Orientalists were inclined to believe like the unfortunate Bailly—that all knowledge came from the East. *Ex-Oriente lux*, was their motto. Their credulity was sometimes amazing. Sir W. Jones naively tells us that the Brahmans were always too proud to borrow their sciences." The case is that since their own scriptures are supposed to be infallible and all-sufficient, it would be more or less improper for orthodox Hindus to acknowledge their indebtedness to foreign teachers..... It is now acknowledged that the Hindu Astronomy and Astrology of our second period came from the Greeks. The evidence for this is overwhelming..... The general conclusion is that the Hindus were indebted

* The Sanskrit Journal, July 1907.

† "East and West" July 1918.

to the Greeks for their mathematical—much to the same extent as they were for their astronomical—knowledge."

In reply to this, Mr. S. R. D. Gupta writes,* Mr. Kaye's article assumes many things which perhaps take their colour from preconception of the priority of Greek over Indian Astronomy According to Bailly, accurate astronomical observations had been made in India probably before B.C. 300, a conclusion which is justified on independent evidence..... Next in importance comes the question of the discovery of the twelve signs of the zodiac. Mr. Kaye has taken it for granted *a priori* that the division originated in Greece and then was borrowed by the Hindu astronomers. We shall just show that astronomical arguments lead to the just opposite conclusion. Here we shall follow the admirable treatment of the question by Prof. D. N. Mullick in the course of one of his lectures. '.....It seems to be very probable that the method of signs was built up in India; for the method of *tithis* which is admitted to be peculiar in India may be regarded as the parent of the method of signs and we are thus able almost to trace a gradual evolution, along lines well recognised in science, of the system of signs.'..... Hence we are justified in inferring that when the Hindus can claim to be the originators of the system of lunar mansions, they have an equal right to claim to be the propounders of the system dependent on the divisions of the zodiac."

Inclinations should have no place in questions of evidence; but unfortunately it is not easy to divest oneself of traditional prejudices or preconceptions due to early associations. We are all more or less like the good old lady who late in life began to read Shakespeare and exclaimed that his plays were full of quotations!

To elucidate the course of my argument, it will be necessary at the outset to take a brief historical survey of the several systems of calendar that have been in vogue in India at different periods.

Max Müller divided the periods of the ancient sacred literature of the Brahmins as follows :—(1) The *Chhandas period*, i.e., the period when the Vedic Ṛishis composed the songs of the Rigveda—a period of spontaneous poetic productiveness, covering approximately B.C. 1200 to 1000; (2) the *Mantra period*, in which this poetry had become invested with a conventional and adscititious character—B.C. 1000 to 800; (3) *The Brāhmaṇa period*, in which were composed the Brāhmaṇas, the Āranyakas and the principal Upanishads B.C. 800—600; (4) *The period of Sutras*, ending with B.C. 200.

Max Müller himself admitted that the duration of 200 years allowed for each of the first three periods was rather too short than too long. Critics

*' East and West ' April 1919.

like Wilson and even Whitney were of opinion that B.C. 2000 would be nearer the mark in respect of the age of the earliest phase of Vedic literature.

There does not appear to be sufficient reason for maintaining a distinction between what Max Müller designates as the Chhandas and the Mantra periods. The mystic efficacy of the Mantras and their adventitious character are nearly as much in evidence in the Riks of the Rigveda as in the mantras of the other Samhitās; and it will be almost impossible to apply to them the tests of spontaneity or conventionalism. Of course there are earlier and later mantras in all the Samhitās including the Rik Samhita, as the Riks themselves refer to earlier and later Rishis. The linguistic and other tests now employed would be more legitimate and valid. For practical purposes, all the mantras (*Rik*, *yajus* or *Sāman*) in the several Samhitās may be comprised under one head—*the period of the mantras*. The second would be that of the Brāhmaṇas, which are speculations in prose on the meaning and application of the mantras. Third is that of the Āraṇyakas and the principal Upanishads (ten or twelve) untinged by any sectarian spirit. Lastly comes the period of the Sutras. I have tried to show in my thesis on the *Age of the Brahmanas**, that B.C. 2500 to 2000 would approximately cover the period of the Brāhmaṇas. Till this is accepted, or till any other theory, based on conclusive evidence receives general recognition, the dates for the periods can be only conjectural and idiosyncratic.

As till the close of the Vedic period, we find only a luni-solar calendar employed or recognised, it will be helpful if I briefly summarise here its elementary principles. A lunar year of 12 synodic months measures 354 days 8 hours 48 minutes and 36 seconds. The Sun also travels along the ecliptic in a year and comes back near to the same star on or near the ecliptic, in the course of what is called a sidereal year, which measures 365 days, 6 hours, 9 minutes, 9·7 seconds. The difference between the two years is thus a little less than 11 days. As the seasons mainly depend on the annual course of the Sun and the Vedic sacrifices were regulated by the seasons, the Vedic Rishis whose months and years were lunar and synodic should have felt the necessity of adjusting the two years by some method. The shortest period for roughly effecting such adjustments would be a cycle of five years. If we should insert a synodic month in the course of the third lunar year from the commencement of such a cycle, the difference between lunar and solar time would be reduced to under three days. The difference that would be created in the course of the next two years of the cycle would be bridged over with only a difference of 3 and odd days

*Contributed to the first Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919.

by the insertion of a synodic month at the close of the fifth year. The insertion of another synodic month at the end of the third year in the next cycle would reduce the difference to less than a day ; and so on. All that is required is to insert a synodic month whenever and *only when* the difference between the solar and the lunar reckoning is found to have run up to a month or so. It is not even necessary to ascertain exactly the duration of a lunar or of a sidereal year. In a cycle, the third and the fifth year would consist of 13 synodic months and the other three, of twelve such months. Occasionally, *i.e.*, in the fourth cycle, it might be necessary to drop intercalation, about the close of the cycle. This rough and ready scheme might go on working with approximate accuracy for hundreds of years and we find, as the sequel will show, that this was the only method employed till we come to the early centuries of the Christian era.

The period of the Mantras.

The calendar we meet with in this period is, as already observed, *luni-solar*. The moon in the Rigveda is called *mās*, which etymologically means 'measure' of time. It was observed that the moon moved from one star to another from day to day and returned to the same star in about 27 days; from this, each of the 27 days came to be associated with and designated by the star with which the moon was in conjunction on the day. Thus in the marriage hymn of the Rigveda,* it is stated that at the *aghās*,† the bridegroom was honoured with the presentation of the 'fatted calf' and at *arjunis* (= *phalgunis*), the marriage procession came round. This shows that the days were named from the *nakshatra* near which the moon moved from night to night in the course of its heavenly circuit. The word *nakshatra* is found in the Rigveda to be used in two senses—(1) a star in general as in R. V. I. 50-2, where it is stated that like thieves the nakshatras disappear when the sun rises—(2) one of the 27 stars (some single, and others in clusters), which mark the moon's heavenly path from day to day as in R. V. X. 85-2, where it is said that the moon is placed in the lap of the nakshatras. The number-terminations of the words *aghāsu* and *arjunyoh* also show that more than two stars comprised the cluster known as the *maghās* ‡ and that two stars comprised the asterism *phalgunis*. There are hints to show that at the period of the Brāhmaṇas, § the word *nakshatra* had acquired a third application in addition, *i.e.*, one of the twenty-seven equal segments into which the

* X, 85-13.

† Atharvaveda, XIV. 103 uses the ordinary form, *maghasu*.*

‡ Five according to Śrīpati (A.D.999).

§ Taithriya Samhita, II-2-5-1.

moon's heavenly path was divided, each segment being designated by the asterism which marked it. The later technical name for the moon's path, is *krānti* (ecliptic). It was noted that the Sun's annual circuit in the heavens was also along the ecliptic.

There is little evidence in the Rigveda or other mantras that the period of 27 days¹ covered by the moon's revolution along the ecliptic was employed in the mantra period for counting the month. It was the waxing and waning phases of the moon that were employed for measuring the month. It was observed that, in the course of its revolution, the moon showed its waxing phases as it went further and further away from the Sun and its waning phases as it came nearer and nearer to the Sun till it was altogether lost to view on the day when the moon stood at the same portion of the ecliptic as that occupied by the Sun. The period commencing immediately after the total disappearance of the moon and ending with the day of the next total disappearance was reckoned as a month (later known as the *amānta* month). This synodic month slightly varies in duration from month to month, its mean length being 29 days, 12 hours, 49 minutes 2·87 seconds. This was reckoned as 30 days in round figures in the Vedic days.² That the months were synodic and *amānta* is seen from R. V. X. 85—18..... where the moon is said to be born again after completing the *ritas*³ or months. Twelve such months made a year which was thus popularly reckoned at 360 civil days, (*ahōrātrās*) or 720 days and nights (R. V. I. 164—11).

The year was called *Śarad*⁴ or *samvatsara*. *Śarad* also denoted one of the seasons of the year and the word *samvatsara* was also used in the sense of an annual sacrificial session (*gavām ayana*) of 360 days.⁵ The use of the word *sama* in the sense of year⁶ would indicate that the year was divided into two halves—the northward and the southward courses of the Sun.

Though this year of 360 days would thus appear to have been in popular use, as 'a result based on the synodic month of approximately 29½ days'⁷ still it is difficult to conceive how the Vedic Rishis could have missed noticing that this period was longer than 12 synodic months and

1 More exactly 37 days 7 hours 43 minutes 11·5 seconds.

2 Cf. Taitt. Sam. IV. 3—11—6. where the 30 sisters are made the month; also A. V. XIII—3—8.

3 Ritu in the sense of month *vide* Taitt. Samh. IV. 4—11—1, VII—4—8 Bhaṭṭa Bhaskara on Taitt.—A. I. 3—9.

4 R. V. VII. 66—11.

5 R. V. VII. 103—1.

6 R. V. X. 85—5.

7 Prof. Keith in J. R. A. S. 1916. P. 134.

shorter than a sidereal year of about $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. It may be surmised that the Vedic seers must have had some conception of the difference of duration of these modes of reckoning as we find references to a thirteenth month * occasionally intercalated to adjust the difference. There would be no need for a thirteenth month if the Vedic Rishis knew only one kind of year.

In R. V. I-110 and I-161, and IV-33, the three Ribhus are said to have after much wandering come to the house of the sun (*aghohya*=unconcealable) and slept there for 12 days at the end of the year enjoying his hospitality; and they then filled the lowlands with water and the highlands with grass and plants. This is interpreted by various modern scholars as meaning that the Ribhus were the genii of the three seasons that are at a standstill during the 12 days of winter solstice, the 12 days being the supplementary ones required to balance the lunar with the Solar year (366 days—354). Indian scholiasts like Yaskā and Sāyana take the Ribhus in these legends to represent the rays of the Sun. If so, the twelve days may be well taken to denote a continuous period of rain for 12 days when the Sun's rays might be supposed to be hidden in the solar orb. This would then refer to the rains of the Summer solstice as no incessant rains are associated with the winter solstice—such rains as are required to fill the lowlands with water and the highlands with grass and plants. In R. V. I—161—13, Sāyana understands *samvatsara* as meaning 'when the year was completed'. This would show that according to one reckoning the year ended with the summer solstice though the Brāhmaṇas recognise generally the year beginning with the winter solstice. Mait: Upanishad VI. 14 would suggest a commencement of the year from the Summer Solstice. I have also elsewhere tried to show that in the period of the Brāhmaṇas the season that immediately followed the summer solstice was known as *Śarad* and that it was a period of heavy rains. Sāyana, in commenting on R. V. VII. 103—1, interprets *samvatsara* as the year beginning with *śarad* and closing with the commencement of heavy rains. This would also explain satisfactorily the application of the word *śarad* to denote the year. The use of the word *sama* in the sense of the 'year' as a period consisting of two equal halves, one from W. S. to S. S. and the other back from S. S. to W. S., would support the presumption that, in addition to the year-beginning with W. S., there was also an optional commencement of the year with S. S. This interpretation of the Ribhu legend must however remain conjectural for the present.

* R. V. I. 25—8 and I. 164—14.

II. The Brahmana Period.

Here we find some more details of the calendar:—

(1) There are hints to show that the theologians of this period (Brahmavādins, as they called themselves) had arrived at an approximate determination of the sidereal year as comprising 365 days and of the lunar year as consisting of 354 days. Taitt. Sam. VII. 2-6 states that the ritus become ḥitus only by the performance of the eleven-day sacrifice. This may be understood to mean that the lunar months of a year become capable of indicating the seasons correctly only by the addition of 11 days. (354+11). Taitt. Sam. VII—1-10 says that the seasons require five days more to make a complete round and that after the performance of a five-day sacrifice, the seasons came round and did not go wrong. The passage adds that the addition of four days was short and of six days too long. This would indicate that the addition of five days to the popular year of 360 days was necessary to complete the annual seasons. Taitt. Sam. I—8-10 says that the *storiyas* of the *dvirātra* sacrifice were as many as the days in the year and Bhāṭṭa Bhāskara commenting on it says that they were 365. The *utsar-jinam ayana* (Taitt. Sam. VII—5-6) deducted six days from the normal type (gavāmayana of 360 days) presumably to make the session correspond to the lunar year of 354 days.*

(2) The ecliptic of 27 asterisms appears to have been divided, as already stated, into 27 equal segments. It was divided into two halves,— the northern half comprising the asterisms Kṛithikā to Viśākha, which revolved south of the North Pole and the southern half comprising the asterisms† Anūrādha to Apabharāṇi revolving north of the South Pole.‡ The Kṛithikā lay due east § and the Maghā marked the summer solstice.¶

(3) The months were named from the asterisms of the ecliptic at or near which the moon became full, e.g. *Taisha*, Māgha, Chaitra, (Kaush Br. XIX—2-1-3.), Vaiśākha (Sat. Br. XI—1.), Phālguna (Sat. Br. XIII—4), etc. The full moon might occur with the moon in any one of the twenty-seven asterisms, but twelve of these alone were selected as representing the twelve months. As observed by Mādhava in his "Kāla Mādhava." ननाचसंकरणकाण्डेद्वेतिवादिनाराणां परिपूर्णनुसंगमे । मासाक्षेत्रादयोजया: निकैःपदान्त्यसप्तमाः ॥ It is true that as observed in the "Vedic Index", "the selection of 12 nakshatras out of 27, as connected with the night of full moon, can have no chronological

* Cf. also *Nidāna Sutras*. V—11-12.

† I use the word asterism to denote the single star or clusters of stars lying on or near the ecliptic. The twenty-seven equal sections of the ecliptic, I call 'nakshatra segments'.

‡ Vide Taitt-Brah. I—5-2-7.

§ Sat. Br. II—1-3.

¶ Mait. Br. Up. VI—14.

significance, because full moon at no period occurred in these twelve only but has at all periods occurred in every one of the twenty-seven at regularly recurrent intervals." But it must be remembered that such selection was simply by way of *upalakshana* as pointed out in the 'Kāla Mādhava'—
 चित्रादिभासादियोगस्योपलक्षणत्वात् । कचिचित्रादिप्रव्यासन्तस्वात्यनुराधादियोगेऽपि चत्रैशाखादिसंज्ञानविरुद्धाते ।
 The sixth, seventh and twelfth months were represented by three asterisms and the rest by two.

(4) The shortest days of the year occurred when the sun was low down in the South, near the W. S.* and days became longer and longer till the sun reached the northernmost point of the ecliptic at the S. S., after which day-time gradually decreased and the duration of night increased.†

(5) The year commenced as a rule from or near the W. S., the first year of a cycle starting from the *pratipad* (the first day) after Māgha-amavāsyā. The coincidence between the W. S., and Māgha Śukla-pratipad could have been only approximate in spite of intercalation.

(6) The position of the sun with reference to the asterisms of the ecliptic appears to have been observed and noted. Taitt. Br. I. 5-2 states "let one observe and mark an auspicious asterism before the Sun rises as when the Sun rises the asterism disappears from view."

(7) The seasons were distinguished and the time of their annual recurrence was noted. The primary seasons were three—the warm, the rainy and the cold—each of these comprised four months as exemplified by the chāturmāsyas. Each primary season was divided into two halves, of two months each. There were thus six secondary seasons. Sometimes the cold season of four months was treated as a single season and so the secondary seasons were reckoned as five. The spring commencing with the W.S. was the first season of the year and Phālguna was the first month of spring. I have examined this question in detail in my thesis on the 'Age of the Brahmanas' and it is not possible here to notice all the Vedic texts on which I have based my conclusions.

All this knowledge is not much. But at the early period of the Brāhmaṇas, it should have cost no little labour and observation to make even so much progress. Śuklayajūs Samhitā (XXX-10—Taitt. Br. III-4-4-1) mentions *nakshatra-darśas* observers of stars, as a distinct profession and the results, such as were achieved, must in great part be due to these men. In the next period, that of the Upanishads (Chh. Up. VII-1-2-4), *nakshatra-vidya* is mentioned as a recognised branch of study.

* Kaush-Br. XIX-3.

† W. S. is used as contraction for 'Winter Solstice' and S. S. for the 'Summer Solstice' in the following pages.

III. The Period of the Aranyakas and the Upanishads.

6. To this period we should assign a regular treatise on calendar. This is known as the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣha* said to have been compiled by Lagadha. The work exists in two recensions—*rik* and *yajus*. The latter containing a few more stanzas does not go up to more than 40. The text is not very intelligible in spite of a commentary by Somākara, nor is it quite accurate or even complete for the purposes of calendrical calculation. It may have been written much later than the epoch to which it astronomically refers. This is the opinion of almost all western scholars. But there would be no necessity for such opinion if wider limits are accepted for the several Vedic strata. Whatever the date of the composition of this short treatise may be, the epoch to which it relates is more or less definite, within a margin of two centuries.

The principle points taught by this work are these:—

(1) A cycle for purposes of calendar consists of five years, the first year of the cycle begins with the *pratipad* of the amānta month *Māgha*, which corresponds more or less to the W.S.; the third and fifth years have thirteen synodic months each; the other three consist of twelve synodic months. The intercalation works out at 354 days for the lunar and 366 days for the sidereal year with the result that at the end of the cycle the adjustment goes wrong by an excess of three and odd days. As already observed the excess is not very material if the aim is simply to secure a rough approximation of the lunar to the sidereal year. The last day of the cycle ended with the amāvasya of Pausha when the Sun and the moon were together at the asterism Śraushta. This was more or less near the W.S. The next cycle began with *māgha sūkla pratipad*. The first month of the cycle was Māgha (amānta) and the first season was that of śiśira.

(2) Three months from the commencement of the Sun's ascent occurred the spring *Vishu* or equinox. The autumnal equinox occurred three months after the commencement of the Sun's southward journey.

(3) The seasons were regarded as either lunar or solar. The māgha and phālguna (amānta) were considered as constituting the lunar season. A solar season was covered by the passage of the Sun through $4\frac{1}{2}$ nakshatra segments, beginning with the W.S.

(4) In the Brāhmaṇa period, there was no recognition of the two solstices, the term *vishuvat* being there applied to designate the central day of the annual session of gavām ayana, which corresponded to the summer solstice. According to the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣha* as we have seen above, there were two *vishuvats* and these were the spring and the autumn equinoxes.

Another difference between this calendar and the one in vogue in the period of the Brāhmaṇas was that according to the former, Śarad comprised the third and the fourth months after the S. S. and was therefore regarded as a dry season, whereas, in the Brāhmaṇas, śarad began with S. S. and was a period of heavy rains.

(5) The solstitial colure cut the winter solstice at the Śraviṣṭha and the summer solstice at the middle of the Āśuṣha segment. This position, according to Colebrooke and Davis, indicated the fourteenth century before Christ. Max Müller had it recalculated by Archdeacon Pratt, who arrived at B.C. 1181. It was further thought that in 'deducing any chronological dates from observations as loosely recorded as those of the Jyotiṣha, a margin of several centuries ought to be left on either side.'

Pratt's calculation is based on an assumption which I consider to be unwarranted. He presumes that the first point of the ecliptic coincided with Revati even at the epoch of Vedāṅga Jyotiṣha. The position of an asterism in its segment would depend upon the position of the first asterism in the first segment during any epoch. As the epoch of the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣha is far earlier than the time when the ecliptic was started from Revati, it would not be proper to base any calculation for this early period on the far later Revati-ecliptic. The wording of the Jyotiṣha, *somārkau savāsavau*, etc., in stanza 6 would mean "when the sun and the moon were at the southernmost point of the ecliptic together with Vāsava or Śravishṭha. The sun and the moon could not be said to be at the southernmost point together with the segment vāsava. If the author had meant to say that, he should have used *vāsave* and not *savāsavau*. Therefore the natural presumption would be that the asterism Vāsava (*i.e.*, Śravishṭha) was also at the southernmost point of the ecliptic. Assuming the longitude of Śravishṭha to be $294^{\circ} 12''$ as given by Munīvara and as rendered probable by the fact that the longitude of Śatabhishag is unanimously given as 320° , we would find that Māghā would have been $14^{\circ} 48''$ from S.S. Pratt's assumption gives $15^{\circ} 40''$. The difference of nearly 1° would indicate the middle of the 13th century B.C. for the epoch of Vedāṅga Jyotiṣha.

IV. The Sutra Period.

7. There are indications in this period of an attempt to start the ecliptic from Śravaṇa. These are contained in the *Mahābhāratā*, Adi Parva 71—34 and Aśvamedha Parva 41—2. The story is this: Viśvāmitra in a fit of anger is said to have tried to create a new world with Śravaṇa as the starting point. The story is familiar to all of us and the late B. G. Tilak in his *Orion* (p. 216) interpreted it as meaning that it referred to the time when Śravaṇa coincided with the W.S. The interval between

Śravaṇa and Śravishṭhā is generally given as 10° and the precession of the equinoxes by 10° would take us to about the 6th cent. B.C. The references to Śravaṇa in the *Mahābhārata* are found only in the obviously later portions of the work. In the earlier portions the first place among the asterisms is still that of the Śravishṭhā.

The attempt to refix the starting point of the ecliptic at Śravaṇa did not succeed. It was the Vedāṅga calendar that was in vogue till a far later period. Thus for instance Baudhāyana states that in the month of Māgha, the Sun moves northwards from Śravishṭhā and the Sun turns south from the middle of the Āślesha-segment.* The *Vedic Index* states that, according to Baudhāyana Śrauta-Sutra, the equinoctial point was placed between Chitrā and Svāti. Though I have not been able to consult this passage, yet the rule about putting up the sacrificial hall (*prāchīna-vamṣa*) given in the sulva or karmānta sutras runs to the same effect. Thus : प्राचीनवशशालस्थापयन्ति, कृतिकाः सालिवर्मा प्राचीदिशां न परिजट्टति । तासदैश्चेन नमापयदिव्यकं । श्रोणासद श्वेनमापयदिव्यकं । चित्रस्वात्थोरन्तरेण लेनदपरम् ॥ † (They thus put up the sacrificial hall. The Kṛithikās never swerve from the east. So the hall may be marked off by observing the kṛithikās. This is one method. Another method is to take measurements by observing the direction of Śravaṇa. A third method is to determine the directions by the middle point between Chitra and Svāti). The first method is based on the Brāhmaṇas. (Sat. Br.-II-1-3), which states that kṛithikās indicate due east. This must have long ceased to be true at the time of the karmānta rules. Still there was Vedic authority for the kṛithikas marking the true east and a Vedic injunction, it was felt, could never be set aside. This must be the explanation for the retention of the rule about the kṛithikās even in the period of the Sutras. The second and third rules would more or less indicate the 6th century B.C. Śravaṇa at the W.S. would indicate the 6th century B.C. as also the equinoctial colure between Chitrā and Svāti. The distance in longitude of Chitrā (*Spica*) from the equinox in A.D. 750 was , according to Herschell $20^{\circ} 21'$. At 72 years per degree, we are carried back to A.D. 285 when Chitrā was on the equinox. For the equinoctial colure to pass midway between Chitrā and Svāti, we have to take into account half the distance between these two asterisms. The longitude of Chitrā is given as 180° in the *Suryasiddhanta* and 183° according to Brahmagupta and Bhāskara. That of Svāti is 199° . Striking the average we have to allow 9° per precession. This would take us to the close of the 6th century B.C. The late French savant, Barth, is said to have stated that the solstitial colure between Chitrā and Svāti would bring us to the 6th

* Quoted by Mr. Shama Sastry in his *Gavam Ayana*, p. 137.

† Sudhakar Divedi in his *Dignimamisa*, p. 31.

century A.D. The authors of the *Vedic Index* implicitly accept this. I cannot understand how.

This review closes the first period of Indian astronomy. There is in all this very little of what we now consider to be astronomy proper. The late Dr. Whitney remarks:—"The so-called 'Vedic', astronomical manual whose first object seemingly ought to be to give rules on such points, is mostly filled with unintelligible rubbish and leaves us in the lurch as regards valuable information." This is true to some extent but his criticism, expressed with his usual vigour, is based upon a misconception of the scope of the *Vedāṅga*. Its aim as well as that of the *Samhitas* of Parāśara, Pitāmaha, Vaśishṭha, and Garga is simply to explain how the difference between the lunar and the sidereal year could be adjusted at short intervals so as to help in the determination of the several seasons for the performance of the several sacrifices;* and for this purpose the shortest possible cycle which could bring about an approximate correspondence is employed. The *sulva* or *karmānta* sutras similarly aim at no more than giving rough and ready rules for putting up the sacrificial hall and the several altars. There was no attempt to cultivate astronomy and mathematics for their own sake. The aim was simply practical and the rules were meant to meet sacrificial requirements and when these were satisfied, no further need was felt for any scientific pursuit. If Dr. Whitney had remembered this, he would not have denounced the *Vedāṅga* in such strong terms.

Dr. Whitney continues, "I hold it as alone probable that they [the Hindus] received the system [of the lunar ecliptic] from abroad [Babylonia] with Krithikā at its head and would probably have retained it in the present form until the present day but for the revolution wrought in their science by Greek teaching." This is certainly unfair. (1) European exploration has so far brought to light no traces of ecliptical partition by the moon's diurnal motion† (2) Hommel tried to show that recent research had established in Babylonia the existence of a lunar Zodiac of 24 members headed by the Krithikas (Pleiades). But so far no evidence has been adduced to show that the Babylonians even took into account such asterisms as the Pleiades, Debaron, Spica, Regulas, individually. All that we know is that they formed fanciful pictures of the ram, the bull, etc., representing the monthly passage of the Sun through 30° of the ecliptic. The Babylonians had twelve constellations and their pictorial signs. The Brāhmaṇas had 27 asterisms and no idea of any picture signs. What was then in the Babylonian astronomy that

* यज्ञकालार्थसिद्धेः as the *Vedāṅga* puts it (Stanza 2).

† Ency. Britannica, XI Ed. Article on Zodiac.

the Brāhmaṇas could have borrowed? Fortunately Thibaut, a sounder scholar than Whitney, has shown the untenability of Hommel's theory. (3) The Kṛithikā did not retain its place at the head of the asterisms in spite of Vedic authority. Somākara quotes Garga to the effect that the Kṛithikā was considered first only for sacrificial purposes and it was supplanted by Śravishthā for calendrical calculations. As the Sulva Sutras and the Purāṇas show, there was an attempt, though abortive, to replace Śravishthā by Śravaṇa at a later period. The Hindus did not wait for the Greek teaching for making these shiftings.

STUDIES ON SCHOLARSHIP.

(BY MR. K. G. SANKARA, TRIVANDRUM.)

I. Gupta Conquest of Vanga and Malva.

The Meharauti (=Mihirapuri ? near Delhi) *posthumous* pillar inscription [Fleet : G. I. No. 32] ascribes the Vanga conquest to Candra. Dr. Fleet thought he might be the unnamed (by Hiuen-Tsang) brother of Mihira Kula, only because the place is named after Mihirā. But the name may be later than the inscription, and that Mihira's brother conquered Vanga is a pure assumption. The inscription belongs to the Gupta period ; so the Candra must be Candragupta I or II. Mr. M. H. P. Sastri equates Candra with Chandravarman, the overlord of Pushkarana, deposed by Samudragupta [*ibid.* No. I], as we have an inscription of his at Susunia Hill [E. I. XIII No. 9]. But Mr. R. G. Basak points out [J. A. XLVIII. 98-101] that the inscription does not mention any conquest of his ; and it seems she dedicated a wheel to Cakrasvāmī only on a pilgrimage to that cave. Mr. Basak identifies Candra with Candragupta I, but omits to state his objections to Candra II. Dr. Fleet notes that the script of this inscription resembles largely the Allahabad *posthumous* pillar inscription of Samudra, but the *mātrās* (top strokes of letters) are marked as in Kumara's Bilsad inscription [G. I. No. 10] and unlike earlier inscriptions. Like inscriptions of Kumara and his successors [*ib.* Nos. 10-36], it also uses the dental nasal for *m* before *s*, and double *t* before *r*. Thus the inscription is not earlier than Kumāra's time, and, as it is posthumous, Candra must be Candra II. The inscription says that Candra (1) defecated allied foes in Vanga, and (2) after crossing the 7 mouths of the Indus, the Vahlikās, 3 (3) marched against the south, where he seems to have died, and 4 (4) ruled *very long (suciram)* as sole sovereign by the strength of his arm. Vanga is not among Samudra's conquests, but was under the Guptas from Kumāra's time [Dāmodarpur plates]. So it was conquered by Samudra's son (not father) Candra II. Candra could cross the Indus in battle, only *after* Samudra's conquests up to E. Mālva. Samudra was the 1st Gupta who tried, but as Dr. Dubreuil proved [Anc. Hist., Dekh., pp 58-61] unsuccessfully to annex Kalinga and Candra seems to have *repeated* the attempt, with like result. Sole supremacy was possible only to Candra II, who ruled from Assam to the western sea, not to Candra I, who ruled only Magadha. The Tumain inscription also of G. E. 116—434 A. C. says that Candra II *won the earth up to the ocean* [J. A. XLIX. 114-5]. Thus Candra=Candra II. The *boastful* Allahābād

inscription includes frontier States like Assam and Nepāl, and the Mālavas in the same category. So Samudra deposed Chandravarman, but did not annex Mālwa. In Malwa era 461 is 403 A. C., the Malwa king was Naravarman, son of Simhavarman, and grandson of Jayavarman, who was thus the contemporary of Candra [E. I. XII, No. 35]. As Chandravarman, also a son of Simhavarman, was deposed by Samudra, Naravarman was his younger brother and successor. His son Visvavarman was very powerful and a terror to his foes, and recognised no suzerain in M.E. 481=423 A. C. [G.I. No. 17]. But before M.E. 494=436 A.C., he had become a feudatory of Kumāra and been succeeded by his son Bandhuvarman [ib. No. 87]. Thus the Guptas (Kumara) conquered Mālwa between 423 and 436 A.C. This explains Kumāra's performance of *āśva-medha*, an assertion of conquest and supremacy. The Tumain inscription also says that Ghaṭotkaca won by his arm his ancestor's fame in his father Kumāra's reign. So he led Kumāra's army against Malva. Mr. Basak objects that Naravarman, being only a *Mahārāj*, must have been a Gupta feudatory. But even his father was only a *Mahārāja*, and Samudra deposed only his brother, not father; and, though after c. 500 A. C., only feudatories used the title, before that date even Kumāra and Skanda were called *Mahārājas* [G. I. No. 11; I. A. XIV.67]. If the head of the Yaudheyas was called both *Mahārāja* and *Mahāsenāpati* [G. I. No. 58], it is because the elected king of a republican tribe may be the chief general also.

II. Mancapuri Cave Inscriptions.

These inscriptions, of which the 1st has been discussed by Messrs R. D. Banerji [E. I. XIII. No. 13], K. P. Jayaswal [J. B. O. R. S. IV. 369. n] and N. G. Majumdar [I. A. XLVIXII. 206-7] and the other two were edited by Mr. Banerji [*loc-cit*], throw light on Khāravela. I read the 1st thus:—
 (1) *Arahanta pasādāya Kālingā* [nā] *m samarānam leram Kāritam rājino*
L [ā] *lāka* [sa] (2) *Hathis* [i] *mhasa papotasa dhu* [tu] *nā Kal* [i] *mga-ca*
[Kawatiro siri-khā] *ravelasa* (3) *agamatisi* [n] ā *Kā* [r] *i-tam*. Mr. Banerji reads *m* after *pasādāya* and renders *Arahanta pasādyam* by 'temple of the Arhats'. Mr. Majumdar takes it to mean that the cave was made in honour of the Arhats. But the plate shows no *m* after *pasādāya* and it means 'for the grace (*not* gift) of the Arhats'. Mr. Banerji reads *Hathisahasa-papotasa* as one word, but Mr. Majumdar rightly deems *papotasa* a separate word. Mr. Jayaswal reads *Hathisa Hamsa-papotasa*. Mr. Majumdar points out that the horizontal line to the right at the top of the 1st *sa* excludes the reading *sa*, and that the *m* after the 2nd *ha* is doubtful. Mr. Jayaswal says the reading *Hathisatasa* meaning 'a coward' is absurd. But such names do exist—e.g., sunaścepta and the objection fails if *sa* is taken as a genitive suffix. Now, there are a clear *m* after the 1st *sa*,

and traces of an *i* mark on this *sa*. So we must read *Hathisimhasa*, as Mr. Majumdar suggested. The *Lālakasa* in Mr. Jayaswal's final reading must be a slip, as he had already correctly read it as *Lālāka*. Mr. Majumdar doubts the reading *po* in *papotasa* but there are an *ā* mark to the right at the top and *o* mark to the left at the bottom of the left vertical line of *po* and the sense needs the reading *po*. Mr. Banerji reads, after *dhu*, *tu* and Mr. Jayaswal *ti*. But the whole letter is blurred, and a comparison of its right lower limb with its left limb or with the limbs of the other *ta*'s confirms the reading *tu*. Mr. Majumdar points out that the reading is immaterial, as *dhitu* [E. I. II. No. 23], *dhiti* [ib. X—No. 19] and *dhutu* [Notes on Amarāvati. p. 35] are all used for *daughter* and *dhuti* may be another variant. Mr. Jayaswal equates *Dhuti* with *Dhrshti*, but Mr. Majumdar points out that *shṭa* changes to *tha* (cf. *Rathika* and *athame*—Hāthigumpta inscription. ll. 6, 7], not to *ta*. As to the translation, Messrs. Banerji and Jayaswal both take *papotasa* to mean grandson, as the latter makes *Lālāka*, the son of Hamsa's son Hastin. But *prapautra* means, not grandson, but great-grandson. Mr. Jayaswal takes *Lālākasa Hathisa* to mean 'Lālāka, son of Hastin'. But as there is no word for *son*, the genitive singular of *Hathi* would be *Hathina*, not *Hathisa*, and, even omitting the *sa* of *Lālākasa*, it would mean only *Hathi*, son of *Lālāka*, not *Lālāka*, son of *Hathi*, on the analogy of *Liaka-Kusulaka* and *Kusula-Patika*. Mr. Jayaswal takes *Dhuti* as the name of Khārawela's chief queen, but then, as Mr. Majumdar points out, there would be no word for *daughter*. So I translate the inscription thus:—"For the grace of the Arhats, (this) cave for the Śramaṇas of Kalinga was made. (It) was made by the emperor of Kalinga Sri-Khāra-vela's chief queen, who is the daughter of king Lālāka, the great-grandson of Hastisimha." This inscription proves that Khāravela's chief queen honoured the Arhats and Jain monks, who seem to have been numerous in Kalinga. The great-grandfather only of Lālāka is named here, as his next ancestors were perhaps unimportant. We may add that Mr. Jayaswal says that *Hathisa* and *Hamsa* are parted by space. But the space is no greater between *sa* and *pa* in what he thinks one word *Hamsa-papotasa*, even ignoring the *m* after *si*. The 2nd inscription mentions an over-lord of Kalinga, named Küdepasīri, and styled *Aira*, *Mahārāja* and *Maha-Megha-vāthana*, like Khāravela. So he was of the same dynasty, and perhaps succeeded Kharawela. *Aira* has been read *Khara* (ass or clever ?) or *Vera*. But the 1st letter is made of a triangle with its right side produced to make an angle with the *e* mark to the left above. It is not *ve*, as we have no round body or a vertical line at the top; nor *Kha*, as it is not curved at the top. We have the same title in l. 1 of the Hāthigumpha inscription, where the 1st letter is clearly *ai*, not *Kha*, as

is seen by comparing it with the *Kha* cf. Khāravela in the same line. So, here too, we must read *Aira*. The Oriya MS. in the Indian Museum of the 14th or 16th century A. C. that Mr. Jayaswal quotes [J. B. O. R. S. III. 482] also refers to the Kalinga kings of the Nanda and Maurya ages as Airas. *Aira* is equated with *arya* and taken to mean 'noble,' or 'an Aryan by race', but, as Mr. Jayaswal suspected, it is really the Prakrit for Aila, i.e., Paurava. The 2nd letter of the king's name is *de* not *de*, as seen by comparing it with *du* in the 3rd inscription. This latter mentions a prince, perhaps of the same dynasty, named Vaduga. Mr. Banerji reads the 3rd letter of the prince's name as *Kha*, but it is quite unlike *Kha*, and the basic triangle or circle is absent. It is clearly a *ga* with the lower end of its left limb blurred.

III. Satiyaputra of Asoka's rock-edict, No. 2.

The identity of Satiyaputra has been often discussed. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal equates Satiyaputra with Sātavāhana [J. B. O. R. S. III. 442. n.], but forgets that Asoka mentions Āndhras separately. Mr. V. A. Smith suggests Satyamangalam Taluk (Coimbatore District), but the only basis is the common prefix *satya*. Mr. S. V. Vénkatéśvara prefers Kāncī, but *Satyavrata* applies only to a part of Kāncī, and not to the whole country, which was called Drāviḍa, or Tōndai-nāḍu, and *vrata* is not the same as *putra*. Dr. Bhāndārkar mentions the Sātpute, among the Marāṭhas, as the descendants of Satiyaputras. Asoka mentions in order from north to south—on the east coast Colas and Pāṇḍyas, and on the west coast Satiyaputra and Keraļaputra. Satiyaputra thus lived north of Malabār. They probably emigrated from their Kanarese home to Mahārāṣṭra. But Mr. S. Krishṇasvāmi Ayyangār equates Satiyaputra with the Nāyars of Malabār and the Tuļus of Kanara [J.R.A.S. 1919, pp. 581-4]. He argues that *Satiya* means a child of a chaste woman, or a Durgā devotee, and that, widowhood being impossible to them, the Nāyars and Tuļus are peculiarly chaste. But *māngalya* implies a living husband, while chastity means faith to him. So, even if widowhood is impossible, one may be unchaste, and widowhood is only needless, not impossible, as none is forced to remarry; and matriarchate prevails not only among the Tuļus, but among the Nāyars of Keraļa also. Yet Keraļapura is distinguished from Satiyaputra; and, though Bengālis also are Durgā devotees, they are not called Satiyaputras. Besides, if *satiya* means children of *satis*, *putra* is redundant. Mr. Ayyangār assumes that Tōndaimān Iļan-tiraiyan was a Cola feudatory. But Venkaṭam also was under the Tiraiyar [Aha-nānūrru. 85], or Tōndaiyar [*ib.* 281], and Tōndaiyar=Pallavas, as both *Tōndai* (Tam.) and *Pallava* (Skt.) mean a creeper; and they were called Tiraiyar (sea-folk), as they came from Indo-Parthia by the sea-routes indicated by their *ship* coins [Elliot: *Coins of S. India*, pl. i and ii], when the Āndhras had declined.

IV. Tolkapya's Religion.

Panampāranār, the co-pupil of the earliest Tamizh grammarian Tolkāpya, mentions him as *padimaiyon* [Tolkāpyam, Foreword]. Ilam-pūraṇar says it means an ascetic. *Padimai* seems, not a Tamizh word, but *pratimā* (Skt.), changed to *padimā* (Pkt.). It is equated [Śen Tamizh. XIX. 19] with *padippu* (Tam.), but *padimai* relates to conduct, not study. Only Jains use it for penance of householders. So Tolkāpya was perhaps a Jain householder. If it is argued that it is Panampāranār, who uses the word, I say that, if Tolkāpya *too* were not a Jain, the former would have used some other word. So both were Jains; and, as *Kāpya* means a scion of Bhrgu's Kapi-gotra, Tolkāpya was, as the Śilap-adhikāram indicates [XXX. 83], a native of the ancient (*tōl*) village (*Kudi*) of Kāpyas. It is objected [Śen Tamizh. XVIII, 398-402] that (1) if Tolkāpya were a Jain, he could not have studied the Vedāṅga *Aindra*, as he did; (2) the Vedic scholar Atankotṭāśān would not have studied under him; (3) Tolkāpya used *padimai* for the *vrata* of Vaisyas also; and (4) Irumpōrrai, though he studied Vedas, and performed sacrifices, is said to have *padimāi*. But Tolkāpya might, as a Brāhmaṇ, have studied the *Aindra*, and then turned a Jain, or the *Aindra* may be a contraction for the *Jainendra*; and, if no Jain studied Brāhmaṇ works, how did they refute Brāhmaṇ theology, logic and grammar. Paramārtha says the Buddhist Aśvaghosha studied all the Vedas and Vedāṅgas. Why could not a Jain do so? Vedic scholars may study under Jains, as Kumārilais said to have done. If Tolkāpya was a Jain, he may use *padimai* for the *vrata* of Vaiśya Jains, as Jains too have castes [Tōl. Pōru]. Aham. 28]. Lastly, Irumpōrrai is credited with only *Keļvi* which means study, not Vedic only, but perhaps secular and heretic also, and *veļvi*, which means offering, not of animals only, but of any kind and religion [Patitrup-pattu. 74]. Thus Irumpōrrai, too, was perhaps a Jain, as even Jain kings, like Khāravela of Kalinga (c. 100 B. C.), favoured Brāhmaṇs and their rites.

V. Vatsyayanas and Kautilya.

Mr. H. A. Shāh tried to prove [J.M.S. XI. 138-45] the identity of the Vātsyāyanas and Kautilya, relying on Hemacandra [*Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*. Bomb. p. 34. st. 833] and Yādavaprakāśa 'Vaijāyanī' [Ed. Oppert. p. 96] of the 12th Cent. A.C., who give Vātsyāyana, Mallanāga, Kautilya, Cāṇakya, Drāmiḷa, Pakshila-svāmī, Vishṇugupta and Angula as synonyms. Of these, Vātsyāyana and Kautilya are different gotras, Cāṇakya a patronymic, Mallanāga, Pakshila-svāmī and Vishṇugupta personal names, and Drāmiḷa a natal name. Can Angula refer to his height? It is absurd that a man should carry about three personal names, two gotras, a patronymic, a natal name, and another unknown, as if he were a human *sahasra-nāma*. Mr. Shāh would add yet

another Kālidāsa. Why should the same person write three works the *Artha-sāstra*, the *Kāma-sūtra*, and the *Nyāya-bhāshya* under three *different* names Vishṇugupta, Mallanāga and Pakshilasvāmi? The commentary on *Kāma*, explaining Vātsyāyana as the *gotra* and Mallanaga (by which Subandhu mentions the author of the *Kāma*) as the personal name [II.2], omits to equate him with Kauṭilya. It quotes the *Artha* often, but fails to say they are from another of the author's *own* works. The *gūdhalekhya* (cipher-writing), invented by Kauṭilya. [Artha. I. 12] becomes *Mlecchitavikalpa*, one of the 6+ *vidyās* in *Kāma* [I. 3]. Explaining this, the commentary omits to say that it was the author's *own* device. So the commentary did not know that Vātsyāyana and Kauṭilya were identical. Their dates also are against the identity. Kauṭilya lived in c. 300 B.C. But Mallanāga mentions Kuntala Śātakarṇi Śātavāhana [Kāma. II. 7-2-28]. The commentary says that Kuntala was his natal, Śātakarṇi patronymic, and Śātavāhana personal names. But Śātavāhana was a dynastic (*Kula*), not personal name [Puṇumāyi's 19th yr. insc.], and Śātakarṇi was a title, not patronymic of some Āndhra kings. So Kuntala must be the personal, not natal name, as all Āndhra kings ruled Kuntala, and as, otherwise, the reference to the King would be indefinite, though three names are given; and the Purāṇas mention only one Kuntala Śātakarṇi. So Mallanāga dates in or after the 1st Cent. A.C. Mr. Shāh argues that the Āndhras were known even to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Megasthenes and Aśoka. But there were no Śātavahanas before c. 200 B.C. The Kāma also refers to Gonardiya and Goṇikāputra, the natal and matronymic names of Patanjali. Mr. Shah says that Patanjali's date is based on that of Pushyamitra, for whom he sacrificed, that the latter lived before Candragupta, as Patanjali mentions the Candragupta-sabha after the Pushyamitra-sabha and that tradition makes Patanjali a contemporary of Candragupta. But that Patanjali mentions the *sabhas*, in order of dates, is an *assumption*, and Mr. Shāh does not say where the tradition is found, and why it is reliable. His *proof* of Pushyamitra's date is yet to come. Lastly, the *Artha* and *Kāma* define *artha* differently. Mr. Shāh says it is due, not to different authorship, but to difference of the subjects. But *technical* terms must mean the same wherever they appear. Then the *Nyāya-bhāshya* quotes, as usual in Hindu works, without acknowledgment from the *Artha*. [XV. 1, II. 10 in *Nyāya* I. 1-4 and I. 2-55]. It also quotes from *Artha*. I. 2 as from the *Vidyoddesa* [*Nyaya*. I. 1-1]. Mr. Shāh argues that Pakshilasvāmi cannot refer to a chapter in *another's* work, unless by his name or work. But, if he was a *parampara-sishya* of Kauṭilya, he may refer to a chapter in a standard work of his school, without the author's or the work's name. Also, the *Nyāya-sūtra*, on which he comments, quotes Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva and

the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*, and he quotes the *Mahā-bhāshya* [J. A. XLIV. 83-6] and Dingnāga refutes him. So he dates between c. 300 and c. 450 A. C. Mr. Shāh says that *Nyāya-sūtra* and Nāgārjuna, etc., might have quoted from earlier works, but offers no proof. The *Artha* and *Nyāya* define ānvikshaki differently; and Udyotakara and others mention the author of *Nyāya* as Pakshilasvāmī, not Mallanāga. Thus Vishṇugupta, Mallanāga and Pakshilasvāmī were all different persons, and the lexicons only mix up, misled by their similar treatment of different topics, and common passages.

VI. Vidyānātha—name or title?

It is argued [J.M.S. X. 383] that the *Pratāpa-rudriya* [Kāvya-prak. st. 60] shows that Vidyānātha was only a title of Agastya. But the colophons always mention the author as Vidyānātha, not Agastya. Even Kumārasvāmin, who commented on the work within a century of its date, says that the author was named (*nāma*) Vidyānātha. The stanza mentioned is not against this. It runs as follows:—

aunnatyam yadi varṇyate sikhariṇah kraudhyanti nicaih-krtah!
gambhiryam yadi kirtyate jaladhayah kshubhyanti gādhi-krtah!
tat tvāṁ varṇayitum bibhemi yadi va jat=’ osmy=Agastyah sthitah!
tvat-parsve guna-ratna-Rohāṇa-gire Śrī-Vira-rudra-prabho!!

The poet says he fears to describe the King's eminence, as the mountains lowered by comparison, will get angry, or his depth, as then the oceans, thus made shallow, will get agitated. But, the poet adds, perhaps he need not fear them, as he has become an Agastya by standing beside the King, a Rohāṇa mountain of virtue-gems, and as Agastya dwarfed the Vindhya and drank up the ocean. It is argued that, if the poet was not an Agastya, at least in name, the stanza means nothing. The commentary seems to support this, by saying that the poet was (*Agasty=’osmi*) an Agastya. But the *text* says that the poet became (*jat=’osmi*) by standing (*sthithah*) beside the King. How can be *thereby* become an Agastya? The reply is:—Is not the King a Rohanagiri, and is not Agastya known to be by its side? So the poet was not an Agastya, even in name, but became one by standing beside the King, as Agastya stood beside the Rohanagiri. Thus Vidyānātha (not Agastya) was the *name*, not *title* of the author.

CORRESPONDENCE.

I.

To

THE PRESIDENT,
Mythic Society, Bangalore.

SIR, AND DEAR COLLEAGUE,

The receipt of the last number of the Journal of the Mythic Society gives me an opportunity to send you my best congratulations and the Society my best wishes. I read the Journal with the greatest interest. I have no doubt that your Quarterly in connection with the other activities of the Society will be the means to keep up and to develop in Mysore and in the whole of Southern India, a healthy taste for Indian Literary studies and Historical researches. Already your Journal holds a prominent place among similar publications.

I hope to be able to send you in a few days the continuation of the Brihad-Kathā-Sloka-Sangraha of Budhaswāmī. The events of the Great War are responsible for the delay.

To-day, I would like to place before you some remarks which have come to my mind in reading in the last number of your Journal, a review signed "S.K." of an article published by Dr. Gune in Vol. 11 of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*.

If one compares the version and the history of Udayana as given in the Kathā-Sarit-Sāgarah of Somadeva with the portion of that history which forms the subject of the *Swapna Vāsavadatta* of Bhāsa, it becomes evident that Bhāsa and Somadeva have not been using the same text, but two versions markedly divergent. Dr. Gune is right in saying that to a certain extent those two versions are independent from each other. But another writer had before his eyes the same version as Bhāsa, and that writer is Budhaswāmī. It is true it does not relate the History of Udayana. As a matter of fact, his work does not bear on the whole "Brihad-Katha" but only on that portion, which by the way is the longest concerning Udayana's son. But Budhaswāmī sometimes makes allusions to the History of Udayana, and those allusions show that the version of the Brihad-Katha which he was using was identical with that used by Bhāsa and not with the Kashmirian version.

This to my mind corroborates the authenticity of the Dramas discovered by Pandit Ganapathy Sastry, and attributed by him to Bhāsa, and confirms my views on the confidence which Budhaswāmī deserves as imitator of the Brihad-Kathā. On the other hand, the version of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgarah*, where the story is falsified and made to look absurd is not worth the same credit.

I have attempted to prove this view in an article to which I take the liberty to draw the attention of your distinguished contributor "S. K." That article appeared in the *Journal Asiatique*, No : Mai-Juin, 1919. I regret my inability to send you a copy of it as no reprints were issued.

Please believe that I have no special partiality for my own views, and that my only ambition is to get at the truth, though I believe that to attain that object it is necessary that different opinions should be heard and discussed.

This gives me also the opportunity to express the wish that the relations between French and Indian Scholars may become more frequent and more intimate.

Please accept Sir, and dear Colleague in Indianism, the expression of my heartiest sympathy.

FELIX LACOTE.

Lyons, 20, Cours Morand, 4th February 1921.

Rejoinder.

To

THE EDITOR,

Q. J. M. S., Bangalore.

Dear Sir,

I thank you for the courtesy in sending me a translation of Prof. Felix Lacote's letter to the President. I am very gratified to hear that the learned Professor has passed through the war unscathed and has been at work to complete the valuable edition of the Brhatkatha Sloka Sangraha. In regard to the points at issue between me and the learned Professor, the chief item is, which is the more faithful Sanskrit version of the Paisachi Brahatkatha. We know the age of the Paisachi Brahatkatha within comparatively narrow limits; as much cannot be said about the age of the dramatist Bhasa. According to one section of scholarly opinion Bhasa's works could not have been based on Paisachi work, as he must have lived before the time of Gunadhya. There is besides the fact that Bhasa was a dramatist, and if he took liberty with the original he would be justified. The crux of the question lies in the fact that Somadeva says that beyond the change of language from Paisachi to Sanskrit and the necessary abridging he has followed the original faithfully. The question therefore is what value should be attached to an explicit statement like that by an author of reputation. What is an absurd version of a story and what is an appropriate version are matters about which opinions may differ. They may even differ sharply.

Anyhow we are one step nearer to the solution of this problem since we are assured by the learned Professor that the work is nearing publication. We also expect the Tamil version of the Brahatkatha, "that part of it that is available" will also be published very soon. We take this occasion to assure the learned Professor we have no ill-will to him nor partiality either. Like him we wish to get

at the truth, and welcome his views of the matter as tending towards a final solution of the problem. We shall consult his article in the "Journal Asiatique" with the greatest pleasure and write again in case there is need. We reciprocate fully the expression of his wishes for more co-operation between French and Indian Scholars.

Yours faithfully,

S. K.

II.

To

THE EDITOR, *Q. J. M. S.*,

Bangalore.

DEAR SIR,

Will you please communicate the following to the gentleman who reviewed Mr. Vaidya's article on "The Pandyas and the Date of Kālidāsa" on p. 176-77 in the January number of the Quarterly?

He refers to his discussion with respect to the Gadwal plates of Vikramāditya, which referred to the encampment in Uragapuram *on the south bank of the Kaveri*. This statement is an important one in as much as it definitely locates Uragapura on the banks of the Kaveri and which condition cannot apply to Madura, it being far away from it. I would refer him to see the map of India given at the end of the second volume of Walter's "Yuan-chwang." It puts Uraiur *on the Kaveri* while Madura is several miles away from it.

Kalidāsa seems to locate the Pandya capital somewhere on the banks of the Kaveri from his description starting with IV: 45 in Raghuvamsā "कावेरी सरितांपत्यः etc." However, he is not quite definite on that point and more could not be said owing to the unfortunate blank (on P. 176) that has remained in the review.

Yours truly,

H. A. SHAH.

III.

Tolkāpya's Religion.

[Based on a note by Navanītha Krishna Bārathi in *Sen Tamizh*, Vol. XVIII, P. 397.] *

In the last issue of the *Q. J. M. S.* Mr. K. G. Śankara drew the conclusion that the earliest Tamizh Grammarian Tolkāpya was a Jain, with the aid of the word *Padimaiyon* referred to Tolkāpya by his co-disciple Panampāranar. *Padimai* is derived from *Pratima* (*Saṅskritam*) and that is accepted by the commentator himself. Mr. Sankara holds the view that 'Pratima' is used for 'the practice of

'penance' of Jains only. But in Tolkāpyam itself *Padimai* is used generally to mean 'the respective duties of men' as " மேலிய சிறப்பின் ஏனுர்படிமைய " (அகத்தினை 28) and in " Patirrupattu " Irumborai, a staunch follower of Vaidiga, is referred to by the term *Padimi* as " கேள்விகேட்டிப்படிவமொடியாது, வேள்விலவேட்டவெயுங்தோருவப்ப.....குறிவன்பெருமரின்படிமையோனே " (74). Thus we cannot any more argue his religion with the aid of the word 'Padimai.'

Now let us see what his religion was. Panampāranār refers to him as " இந்திரம் வினாத்தொல்காப்பியர்." Vidvan Thiru Nārāyānaiyangār has shown recently (Sen Tamizh Vol. XVIII, P. 401) that 'Aindiram' was read only by the orthodox men and the unorthodox men as Jains had a contempt for it and read 'Jainēndhiram' instead of it. Again, from the commentary of Nachinārkiniyar to the Foreword we learn that " Tolkāpya, whose name was Thirañadhumāgni, was the son of Sage Jamadhagni and was brought into Southern India by Sage Agasthya." There is a Kapigotra among the Brahmans. Thus Kāpya means a descendent of Kavi i.e., Sukra. Since they are the descendants of Sage Bhṛigu they are also known as Bhārgavas". Valmiki in his Bālakanda calls the wife of Sage Bhṛigu as " Kavyamātha." Since Panamparanar himself in his foreword says " தொல்காப்பிய வெனத்தன்பெயர்தோற்று," it is very clear that his name is only the name of his family and means " a member of the ancient family of Kavi." Thus we learn that Tolkāpya was a Brahman and was never a Jain. In a further note when discussing the date of Tolkāpya, I shall show that it is impossible to call Tolkāpya a Jain.

T. N. SUBRAMANIAN.

KUMBAKONAM, 28—2—1921.

BOOKS, ETC., REVIEWED.

Archæological Report of the Travancore State for the year 1920.

THE Report is the first of its kind, since the State was issuing till now only monographs of a series which they styled *The Travancore Archæological Series*. The get-up is quite in line with the Report issued by the Provincial Administrations of India. Mr. K. V. Subramania Ayyar, the new Superintendent, could see his way to tour only for 30 days, but in this shôrt time, he visited 26 places, 9 copper-plates were examined, 56 stone inscriptions were copied, and 47 photographs taken. Mr. Ayyar has also begun in earnest to prepare a list of the mass of Epigraphs lying unlisted in his office. The temples visited are all described in detail, and it is interesting to know of a Vishnu fane at Chirakkara Kottâram, "built as it is in the form of a perfect circle with a rectangular central shrine, and the whole covered by a ceiling." The discussion about the Vêñâdu Kings, who seem to have ruled over the Trivandrum division from the earliest times, and that about the much discussed Thiruvâyambadi inscription are all instructive and on lines of correct criticism.

We congratulate Mr. Ayyar on his having brought out a scholarly Report during the short period he has been in charge of the Department.

K.R.

Annual Epigraphical Report, Southern Circle, Madras, for 1919-20.

THE Report maintains the reputation won by its predecessors. Throughout, there is evinced genuine activity and keen interest. In the publication department, Vol. III, part III, of *South Indian Inscriptions*, has already been published, while Vol. IV has had its matter completed and sent to the press, the latter alone being responsible for its delay. MSS. pages 1=2,998 for Vol. V have also been sent to the press.

Coming now to Collection, "about 150 villages have been visited and 721 fresh inscriptions copied and transcribed. To these must be added also the 363 new inscriptions from Simhachalam..... thus bringing the total of inscriptions transcribed and examined during the year to 1,084—a figure which has not been reached since the birth of this department in 1886."

This mild exultation is certainly pardonable.

The discovery of a *Sāsana* at Bhadrāchalam, the scene of the activities of the "People's Bhakta" Gopanna Rāmdās, is interesting for the fact that even so late as the 19th century, there were magnates like Chandū Lāl, who gifted away more than 50 per cent of the revenues of a taluk to a temple *on the strength of a dream*. Also, a Copper-plate inscription from Tirumalavādi, dated A.D. 1744, says how some Settis and Pillais granted on all articles such as "reddle, clearing nuts, areca-nuts, pepper, jaggery, sugar, bengal-gram, wheat, gingelly, ghee and iron coming into or going out of the village of Thirumānallūr, certain fixed tolls (*Magami*) in order to maintain a lamp." This certainly seems to us self-government of a decided type.

The discovery of a *second* Bana Copper-plate grant confirms the inference drawn from the Udayendiram plates by the late Mr. Venkayya that Vikramāditya I. and Vijayaditya II. must have been known by the surnames Jayamēru, and Prabhūmēru. By far["] the most important, epigraphically, is the unearthing of two Copper-plate inscriptions of the Vishnukundins of whom only two records have been known till now. The latter refer to the 8th century A.D., while the present finds take us back—inferentially—to the Vth century A.D. It is a pity that Mr. S. K. Ayyangar in his "Short History of Hindu India," published recently, makes no mention at all of this important line of rulers "who must have ruled in the Telugu country further north of the Pallava Dominion contemporaneously with the Sālankayanas, the Brihatphalāyanas, and the early Kalinga rulers."

Coming now to the Cholas, it is *very important* to note that an inscription of Rājarāja I. found in Thirumalavādi (Tanjore District) "records an order of the king that the central shrine of the Vaidyanātha temple shoud be rebuilt, *and that before pulling down the walls, the inscriptions engraved on them should be copied down to be re-engraved on the renovated wall of the building.*" (Italics ours.) If this fact is well borne in mind by scholars who base their theories on chronology on Epigraphs, Hindu dynastic succession would be a very great gainer.

Another important contribution in the Report that should interest hagiologists is, the illustrations of scenes from the lives of the Saīva devotees as related in the *Peria Puranam*. The Alwars of Vaishnava tradition are only twelve, whereas the Nayanars of Saivaite belief number sixty-three. Taking it for granted that Vaishnavism represents Aryan restraint in the making of myths, and Saivism the antipodes, the proportion which follows from 12 vs. 63 is an instructive commentary on the exuberant richness of the Dravidian fancy in the realms of Faith.

We close this brief notice of ours with an expression of profound gratitude to Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, for research work of a most educative kind.

K.R.

Hindu India.*

THE three small volumes before us form a very instructive course on the history of Hindu India. Professor S. Krishnaswami Iyengar has already done much to popularise South Indian history and his latest venture is indeed a creditable one. The extracts given in the two source books are carefully selected and form a representative collection bringing the student into direct touch with the varied and copious literature and art of India. They include passages from the *Vedas*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Mahāvamśa* of Ceylon, Purāṇas, Indika of Megasthenes, Inscription of Asoka, Samudragupta, Harshavardhana, Rajendra Chola, and Krishna Deva Raya, the writings of Fia Hien, and Hieun Tsang, and the Rajatarangini of Kashmir, among others. The third is a companion volume giving what is really a rapid review of the history up to the Muhammadan conquest in Northern India and up to the downfall of the Vijayanagar Empire in South India. The review is adapted to lay stress on points brought out in the extracts for the respective periods printed in the source books. The style is accordingly more that of a class room lecture than of a text book. The companion volume is illustrated with selected pieces of Indian Art, including among others Indian Prehistoric Antiquities, Gautama Buddha, his first Sermon in the Deer Park (Sarnath), an Asoka Inscription, the Great Stupa at Sanchi, Kanishka, an Ajanta Chaitya, a representative collection of coins, the Famous Colossal Trimurti (Elephanta), Reception of Persian Ambassadors by Pulakesin II (Ajanta frescoes), the Rathas at Mahabalipuram, the Halebid Temple, and the Tanjore and Madura temples. It contains also six useful maps depicting Ancient India, Asoka's Empire, India in Kanishka's time, Gupta Empire, Harsha's Empire and India in 1398. These three volumes together form a valuable collection which is priced phenomenally cheap and we would recommend it to all members desirous of possessing a useful set of easy reference books on Indian History.

A. V. R.

Annual Archæological Report, Central Circle, for 1919-20.

OWING to frequent changes in the Superintendents and in the Assistants also due to the unfortunate death of the gifted Mr. Panday, the report is not as substantial as it usually is. Now that Mr. V. Natesa Ayyar has been permanently posted to this new Circle, we are sure succeeding reports will have much more to tell us than the present one.

* * Hindu India from original sources, 2 parts, Rs. 1-2-0 each part, and a short history of Hindu India Rs. 1-8-0, by Professor S. Krishnaswami Iyengar; (published by K. and J. Cooper, Hughes Road, Bombay).

No other Archaeological circle in India yields us history of such infinite interest and importance as the Central, comprising as it does the home of the Mauryas, the Guptas and the Kalingas. Dr. D. B. Spooner has set up a high tradition of earnest work in this Circle, and we see in the report under review, how even when his direct connection with it has ceased, he continues to guide and befriend the workers on the spot. Part II of the report gives a brief account, illustrated by colored plates of the further excavations at Nalanda which have yielded numerous interesting finds, including images of Brahmanic deities.

Under Epigraphy there is no discovery worth mentioning, the work consisting of copying existing inscriptions and preparing fresh impressions of old ones.

Mr. Ayyar says towards the close of his report that Antiquarian maps of the Chota Nagpur and Orissa Divisions are almost ready, while work on those of other divisions of Bihar and Orissa is proceeding. This move on the part of the local Government is of the utmost practical utility to researchers, whether tourists or not, and, it is hoped that other governments also in India would do the same for their provinces.

K.R.

Man in India.

A Quarterly Record of Anthropological Science with Special Reference to India.

Vol. I, No. I, March, 1921.

EDITED BY RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M.L.C., RANCHI.

BABU Sarat Chandra has been doing splendid work in this line for over many years and his accounts of fast-disappearing hill tribes of the Bihar plateau in the pages of the *JBOR* have always been fresh and first-hand. That he should in course of time found a Journal devoted to describing Man as he is in India is in the nature of things. It only remains to be seen what measure of support cultured Indians extend towards the organ he has just established.

Anthropology after all is not a very exacting science. No elaborate training in technics is necessary to enable a man of ordinary culture and powers of observation to note and record faithfully customs and rituals obtaining in his neighbourhood. The experts at the head, the men who compare, contrast and collaborate will do the rest.

The number under review has got four original articles, besides Ethnographic and Anthropological miscellania. Sir William Crooke leads off with a, rather ambitious though, practical programme of work for students in India, while Dr. W. H. R. Rivers follows with a suggestive note on "Kinship and Marriage in India." The Editor's summing up of "Anthropological Research in India" up to date, is a boon to those who are in search of bibliography connected with

attempts for the last two centuries to describe man in India. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal's "Human Sacrifice in Central India" is a very informative *morceau* on a very grim theme. He says in the course of his article that, with the advance of humanitarian ideals, cocoanut, pumpkins and colored flour have come to occupy the place of the shedding of human blood, in the offerings to the deities. Generalisations are indulged in here which have no warranty to back them up. Supposing we counter him with equally *a priori* deductions, such as that the cocoanut and the pumpkins represent only human hearts, and that their being cut in twain before the deity only means unreserved confessions, how will Mr. Lal rebut us? In questions of this kind it is advisable that writers who understand the subtly metaphysical, allegorising instinct of the Hindus should refrain from one-sided, over-hasty inferences.

In conclusion, we welcome most heartily into the arena of higher Indian thought, "Man In India," and shall always hope that it serves to extend the domain of knowledge about the Indian along lines of probity and careful observation, which the talented Editor possesses so eminently.

K. R.

The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Vol. XXV, No. 2, 1918-19.

It is a pity that this splendid Journal which has to its credit solid work well done in Orientalism, should latterly have fallen on indifferent days. That each year should produce only one volume, and that volume behind hand by two years, is an indication perhaps of how little the intelligentsia of Bombay work towards its normal upkeep. If this were really so, it is to be regretted very deeply.

In the present number there are as many as seven complete articles all of sustained interest and scholarship. "Mithraism" by Mr. F. D. Mulla is a critically sifted study of a creed which once bade fair to permeate all Europe and Egypt. That the Christian ritual to a great extent is the replica of this defunct faith is very clearly proved by Mr. Mulla. Mr. D. B. Parasnisi contributes a copy of the Journal of Mr. George Gray, sent as a Vakeel to Hyder Ali by the then Governor of Madras, Sir Thomas Kunbold. The Journal throws a close light on the perplexing character of Hyder frigid and frivolous, deeply diplomatic or openly tactless. That Mr. Gray should have met with a barely civil reception at Hyder's hands is a matter for no wonder, since English probity at the time we speak of was rather a vanishing quantity. The odour left behind by English doings in Bengal since 1757, and their desertion of Haidar when he sincerely sought their help during 1770 and 1771, were not calculated to create an atmosphere of even qualified trust towards them. The air of injured innocence assumed by Mr. Gray, under the circumstances, lacks conviction to say the least of it. Mr. Commissariat's "A brief History of the Guzerat Saltanat" compiled as it is from various scarcely-consulted

sources, provides fascinating reading of the careers of a Moslem dynasty which at one time threatened even the Mighty Moghul on his throne.

We trust that from this year at any rate, this great Journal of Bombay will see its way to come amongst us more frequently and more punctually.

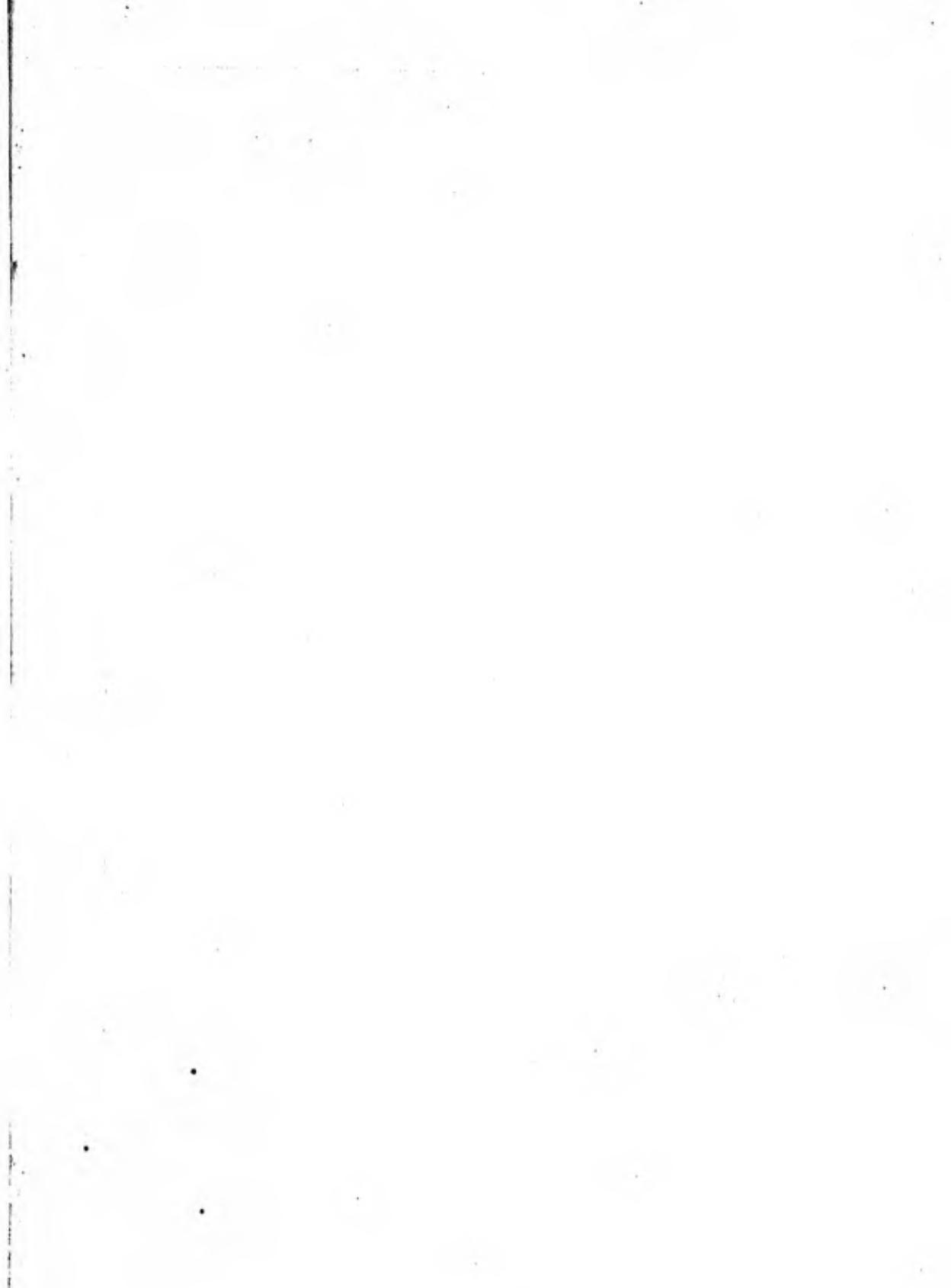
K. R.

East and West (8-1, Dacre's Lane, Calcutta).

We remember well how after a few years of its existence Malabari who founded *East and West* had to pour the vials of his bitter wrath on the heads of such of his numerous friends whose profuse promises for its support oozed gradually into thin air. Such was the fate of all journals devoted to higher thought in India. No wonder therefore that after the death of the great journalist the journal drifted into several hands the last pair being that of Sirdar Jogendra Singh. It is from him we believe that Mr. D. G. Upson got its good will, and the Tata Publicity Corporation are at present its proprietors. We trust better days are in store for this periodical from now.

Coming to the number on hand Sir T. D. Rees' "Prohibition, Why I Oppose It," is an ingenious plea on the old, old lines why people should not be dragooned into temperance. Yet this much must be admitted that stimulants in some shape or other are found necessary and is indulged in all the world over. Statesmanship consists in prohibiting consumption of only such kinds as are positively deleterious leaving the rest without any embargo upon them. "Mixed marriages in India" by Mr. U. B. Nair is another very entertaining essay, giving us as it does a glimpse into those far off days when Europeans out in India with no hopes of going home in the near future elected to form connections with "Natives" men or women. An appreciation of Toru Dutt by Mr. W. D. Angus, and Mr. Madon's "Indian Currency Problem" are other notable articles.

K. R.

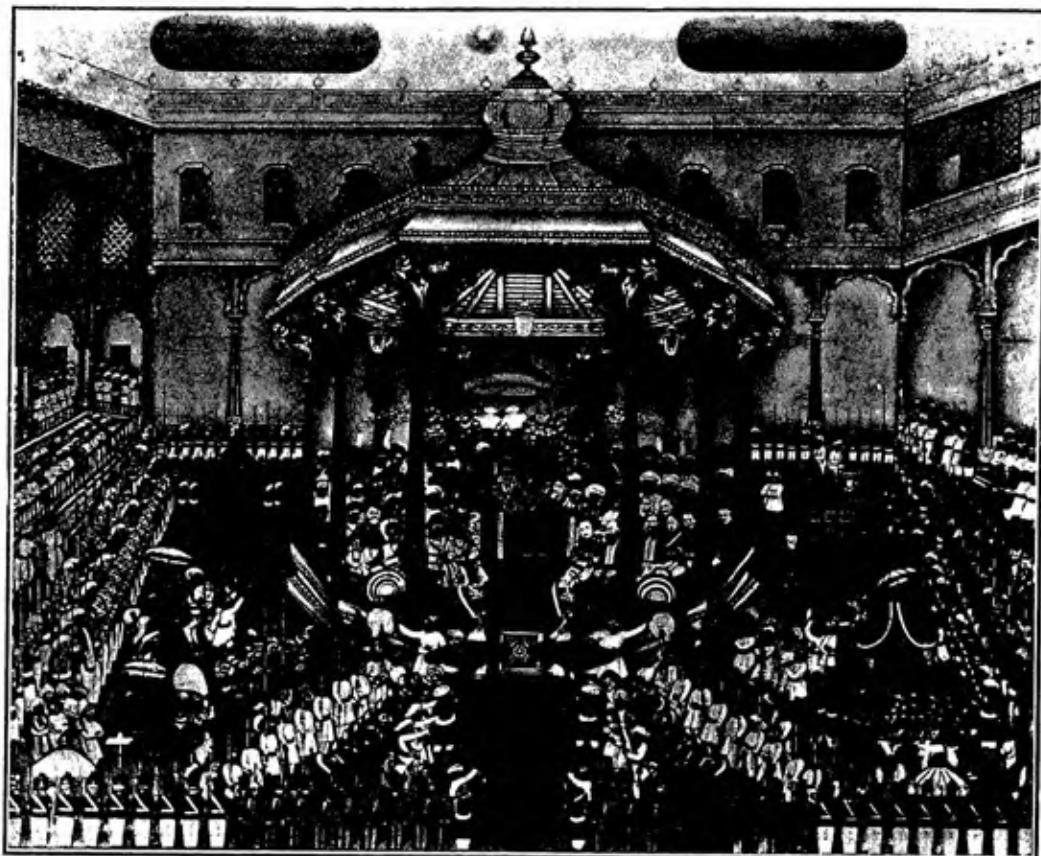




THE NEW MYSORE PALACE FROM WHERE
THE DASARA PROCESSION STARTS



THE DASARA PROCESSION



A DURBAR IN THE OLD MYSORE PALACE DURING THE DASARA IN 1800 A.D.

*Reproduced by kind permission of
His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore
from a Painting in the Jagannath Palace, Mysore*

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THE DASARA CELEBRATIONS IN MYSORE.

BY RAJAKARYAPRASAKTA B. RAMAKRISHNA RAO.

(*A Paper read before the Mythic Society.*)

THE Dasara is a grand national festival in India. The Hindus have been celebrating it from time immemorial. There is not a race, or sect in this vast ancient continent of Bharatha Khanda but observes it. Its chief peculiarity is its religious aspect. The Sastric texts prescribe the observance of *Nava Ratri*, or the nine days' ceremonies which with the final closing day make ten, twice a year; once in March-April, the spring, and again in September-October, the autumn. The former is generally celebrated as Rama navaratri, being the occasion of the anniversary of the birth-day of Sri Rama and the latter is termed Sharannavarātri, dedicated to the worship of Devi, the goddess of Energy. Both the dawn of summer and the commencement of winter are in India regarded as periods when sickness generally prevails; they are known as *Yamadamshtra kāla*: and to ward off their calamitous influences, certain propitiatory ceremonies are ordained. It is believed that a due performance of the prescribed rites in these seasons is calculated to ensure pro-

tection to the public against the baneful effects of bad bacilli in the atmosphere, to bring in prosperity and to enhance the merit of the performers, while augmenting their powers. In actual practice the observance of the autumnal function has been more universal throughout India.

2. I shall now deal with this autumnal function. The festival is generally one of nine days, sometimes reduced to eight days, at other times prolonged to ten days according to the changes for the time being in the Hindu Calender: all the same the technical term used is *Nava Ratri*. According to the *Kalpa** or the formula laid down, a roofed enclosure, a *mantap*, 24 feet square has to be erected on a fine raised level ground with pillars supporting it, duly provided with a ceiling inside and decorated with flags. The floor should be washed with cow dung mixed with white earth. In the centre a dais should be put up 6 feet square with its sides whitewashed and a sacrificial pit—called *Homakunda*—made to the south-east of it in a triangular shape. Brahmins well versed in the Vedas and the Vedantha as well as Devi Tatwa or the mysteries of Sakti puja, i.e., the worship of personified Energy make recitations of the required sacred text and passages. At first Puja is made to Ganesha and then the worship to the Goddess begins. The Goddess mounted on a lion-seat is placed on the dais with four hands, one holding a *sankhah* (Conch), the other a *chakra* (Discus), the third a *gada* (Mace), and the fourth a *padma* (Lotus). In the absence of a suitable image of the Goddess, it is usual to use in its place what is called *Sree Chakra* the sacred circular emblem of the Goddess containing *Navarnava* or nine points, four of which represent *Purusha*, the primordial soul and the remaining five *prakriti* the ultimate subtlest matter of the Universe. Worship and *homa* (Sacrifice) go on by means of recitations of Mantras, sacred mystic texts.

3. For the sake of Shanti, propitiatory purposes, feeding of some healthy girls according to the means of the performer is necessary for nine days, the girls selected being of good physique possessing no deformities of any kind whatever and their number increasing on every successive day by one; in other words, if two girls are fed on the first day, three have to be fed on the second day, four on the third day and so on; the ages of the girls to range from two years to nine. A girl of two years symbolises what is termed as *Kumarika* for cure of diseases, one of three years *Trimurti* for destruction of enemies, one of four years *Kalyani*, one of five *Rohini*, of six *Kalika*, seven *Chandi*, eight *Sambhavi* and of nine

* The authorities I have consulted in this connection are chiefly the Devi Bagavatha and the Nirnaya Sindhu. I have also made use of the information available in the Padma Purana, Matsya Purana, Vasishta Purana and the Soura Purana.

years *Durga* to ward off evil or baneful and calamitous influences and to secure health and prosperity. In such juvenile innocence, the pure spirit of the Goddess, the Divine Motherhood is believed to be best manifest. On this account the girls of one's own caste, or, those of a superior caste are preferable, not of an inferior caste. The total period of nine days is grouped into three sub-periods of three each; Puja in the first sub-period is intended to propitiate the Goddess in her manifestation as *Māhakali* to effect cure for diseases and afford relief from poverty and grief; that in the second is addressed to her in her form as *Mahālakshmi* to grant wealth and prosperity, while worship during the third is made to her as *Mahasaraswathi* to grant purity of mind, to sharpen the intellect and lead up to the realization of bliss. The first is the *Saiva Sakti*, the second is *Vaishnavi* and the third *Brahmi*. The Homa or sacrifice performed with all due ceremony on the 9th day to conclude the nine days' course of rituals or the Navaratri diksha is followed by the final ceremonies of the tenth day which generally end in a procession. In the procession, not only the Devi's Image but also the other images to which during the same period special pujas are offered in the various temples or shrines and in the families of house-holders are carried to the nearest *banni* tree in the town or village concerned and after *mangalarathies* there, i.e., the ceremony of waving light while suitable mantras are chanted, they are brought back.

5. Worship of the Goddess is ordained for all castes and classes; it should be performed in a spirit of true devotion and in accordance with the rules prescribed. It is said that he who makes a mere show of piety or harbours evil thoughts fails to secure success. Many perform the puja themselves in their respective families. Several others employ competent Brahmins to do it properly for their sake. The general object sought for is immunity from illness and acquisition or augmentation of wealth and happiness. The Brahmin priests are expected to observe the Dasara religiously in view to ward off evil magnetism and malevolent influences in the country in which they reside and enhance Royal prosperity and public comforts. The Rulers, Kshatriyas, perform it with the additional object of securing victory in their martial enterprises, besides the enhancement of the wealth of their subjects and dominions.

6. The various functions which our beloved, benign and popular Sovereign observes during the Dasara as has been the immemorial custom in the Mysore Royal Family will now be briefly adverted to.

7. The Dasara comes off in the month of Aswija which corresponds to September-October every year. On the morning of the 1st day, after *prarthana*, i.e., prayer to the family tutelary Deity Sri Chamundeswari

Devi, Mangalaṣnāna—oil bath—takes place. Then comes off in succession puja to Ganesha, the elephant-faced deity ; *Kankanadharana* or the wearing of a silk thread on the wrist of the right hand as a token of vow taken for the due observance of the navaratri functions : puja on the Sejje, the Darbar Hall, to *Navagraha*, the Nine Planets ; Puja to the Royal Throne and the ceremony of mounting on it after passing round it three times. The State-sword which is daily worshipped during the navaratri in the inside shrines is brought and placed beside His Highness on the Throne during the Darbar on the Sejje. Then offerings sent by the principal Matts, the Seats of Gurus, are presented to His Highness; and are followed by temple honors, and next select Vaidiks—Brahmin Pandits and Priests of the Sacerdotal order—present *phala mantrākshate* (Cocoanut with coloured rice) to invoke blessings on the Sovereign. Then comes off *Muzre* and *Nazar* by all the prominent State Officers, Civil and Military, Principal Officials and leading Merchants and other Citizens led by the Dewan. Feu-de-Joie is next fired three times by the State Troops as well as the Royal Household Troops drawn up in the open yard in front down below, where afterwards the State Elephant and the State Horse which after being duly bathed in the Dodakere (big tank), appear well decorated and in due ceremony offer their obeisance one after the other and retire: all the time, sweet melodious music resounds from below. The Durbarees, after being duly garlanded and presented with betel leaves, make due *Muzre* by batches and leave the Hall. The Royal Zenana then enter and after interview to them is over, some of the principal Durbarees go in front of the Throne in order one by one headed by the Dewan and receive *Prasāda* of flowers from His Highness. This done, His Highness dismounts from the Throne and after Arthi in the Zenana retires.

8. His Highness afterwards goes to the sanctum inside the Palace where special worship is offered in all due Vedic forms to the family goddess Sri Chamundeswari Devi day and night and where special recitations of select sacred texts also take place during the period of Navaratri and worships the Goddess. Throughout the Navaratri His Highness pays regular, timely visits there and continues worship of the Deity in all due reverence.

9. In the evening of the 1st day about 7 P.M. comes off the Darbar again on the Sejje when His Highness after offering flowers worshipfully to the Throne takes seat on it. The Durbarees are then allowed to present *muzre* in due order and by batches from either side of the Throne. When all this is over, they are allowed to take seats. Wrestling of Jetties and various feats of arms, etc., are held in the arena below from where the State Elephant and the State Horse also present obeisance.

10. From the 2nd to the 8th day inclusive the Sejje Darbar comes off

only in the evenings, while all religious ceremonies take place in the sanctum inside above mentioned.

11. Worship to Saraswathi, Goddess of learning, takes place on the morning when the 19th asterism known as *Moola Nakshatra* prevails. This generally falls on the 7th day. His Highness then performs the puja himself in the special sanctum referred to above.

12. On the 8th day known as the *Kalaratri* the ceremony of Mahisha-sura mardana, the destruction of the demon Mahishasura by the goddess is celebrated in due accordance with the prescribed rites at night.

13. The 9th day witnesses worship to the select State Arms, to the State Elephant and the State Horse ; also to Lakshmidevi, Goddess of wealth. All these are done by the Maharaja himself. On the same day is performed what is called the Chandi homa, a great sacrifice in honor of the Chandi form of the Goddess, after which His Highness removes the kankana—the Silk Thread worn on the first day. The same evening, the Hon'ble the British Resident and other European guests visit His Highness, attending the Darbar and witnessing the amusements.

14. On the morning of the 10th day after Puja again to the State Arms, they are placed in the State Palankin and taken in procession to the Banni Mantap. On this occasion His Highness leads the procession on the State Horse for a short distance and then returns in a palankin. Wrestling is then witnessed by him.

15. In the afternoon about 4 P.M. the Royal Procession starts from the Palace with His Highness (the Yuvaraja accompanies His Highness when he is present in the Capital) mounted on the ambari placed on the procession-elephant and proceeds by the old principal bazaar road (Bangalore Road) northwards to the Banni Mantap in Cole's Garden. There His Highness reviews the Troops and after *Sami Puja* in one of the inner apartments listens there to the verses of the Palace Vamsavali which the Sheristedar reads out in Sanskrit and which conveys the blessings of the Banni and afterwards kindly hands over consecrated banni leaves as prasadam to the Dewan and the principal officers and the palace staff and after leading back the Royal Arms and having them put in the State Palankin, mounts on the elephant again and returns. A short Darbar on arrival at the Palace closes the day's events.

16. Throughout the Dasara a general feeding of Brahmins takes place in the Maharaja's feeding chatram by way of shanti, i.e., propitiation while special pujas are performed in all the temples in the City, the images of which are also carried in procession to the Banni on the 10th day which is known as the Vijayadasami day, the day of Victory.

17. Two more Darbars follow : one on the 11th day and the other on the 12th : both come off in the evenings. They used formerly to take place in the Ambavilas in the first floor : they are of late being held in the Marriage Pavilion in the New Palace. On these occasions, those who being invitees were not able to attend the Darbars on the Sejje are allowed to present their respective Nazars, and His Highness kindly favors suitable titles to officers who according to his pleasure merit recognition and also gives away prizes to the alumni of the Maharaja's Sanskrit College declared passed in the annual examinations held in the previous month.

18. All over India this Dasara is observed in almost a similar style not only by the Ruling Princes but also by the public in general, although local customs may vary according to their respective traditions. In Indore, Central India, I learn that His Highness the Maharaja Holkar in his observance of the Dasara also wears *Kankana* and worship and recitations of the Sacred Texts also take place; but the procession on the 10th day, Vijaya Dasami, marches southwards not northwards as in Mysore. How enthusiastically the Dasara is celebrated in Bengal in winter as the sacred season of the Durga Puja is too well known to need mention here. It is worth notice here that under the civilising influence of the modern age, animal sacrifices and like rude customs are fast becoming things of the past and the pure spirit of the original Texts is gradually dawning on the public.

19. In Mysore as in other countries generally the Hindu Home, the happy centre of co-operation, the cradle of sympathy, quite looks up in the Dasara. Its atmosphere is then one of delight. The houses cleaned up; the walls white-washed ; the floors smeared with cow-dung and worked on with white and coloured earth into many a fine geometrical shape ; the inmates gay and cheerful extending a liberal hand not only to guests but to strangers arriving by chance ; sweet sounds of prayers and songs devotional, as well as voices breathing a pure spirit of loyalty to the Sovereign ; sumptuary dinners, these and like events render the people happy and cheerful during the Dasara.

20. This closes my description of the festival and the functions. Dry as these details might appear they are not without their purpose or value.

21. I shall now make a few observations on what seems to be their import. Man's course in life is progress. In the language of the poet,

"Not enjoyment and not sorrow
Is our destined end or way
But to act that each to-morrow
May find us further than today"

and "Happiness is our being's end and aim". Man accordingly is destined by the all-wise Creator to attain bliss. In regard to this being the

final aim of life all the great Religions are in perfect accord. There is no great religion but has its appointed course for the spiritual training of its votary, the *Sine-que-non* for higher existence. We, Hindus call it Achara, discipline, which in forms suited to varying conditions all other great religions also enjoin. Religion is nothing if it is not practical: it becomes popular in proportion to its translating the higher truths of Science for observance in the work-a-day-life. Where do we live? Live we not in the Mercy of Providence? Mercy everywhere; Mercy potential?

22. There is what may be called the Triple Principle in the world: the first is *Creative*, the next *Preservative* and the third *Reformative*; and all manifestations and mutations according to the Hindu philosophy proceed from what is called *Moola Prakriti*, the primordial Energy in the Lord Omnipotent; that energy is *Sakti* or *Divine Motherhood*. Names may vary in denoting it, but the root principle is one and the same. Puja to Her consists in doing honor with knowledge; knowledge is indeed power: and knowledge realized is Bliss. Our present subject lets us into the domain of a Sastra, a science, a department of knowledge considered sacred by the Hindus; one too of great practical value. It is termed Mantra Sastra. The *Unseen* is wider, greater far than the *Seen* in the Universe. Man's ordinary vision is limited. To widen it, to cognise as far as possible even the realms of the Unseen which exercise influence on the *Seen*, who but does not desire this Power? Yet it has been kept, evidently not without good reasons, quite a mystery by ancient wisdom and its portals are allowed to be opened only to those who stand the prescribed tests for it undergoing proper training. This is not a myth but a reality. What Geology is to the secrets of the Globe, what astronomy is to the stellar world, what Physics is to the world of visible phenomena, objects in nature, matter and force; and what Chemistry is to the substance, their composition and changes, that is *Mantra Sastra* to the conditions of the Unseen world.

23. The greatest charge levelled against Hinduism is Idolatry. But what is its real significance? It is a means to the end, not the end itself: as a matter of fact, it is not the Idol or the Image that is worshipped, but the energy of which it is a symbol or its concrete remembrancer. The great Formless Cause and Guide of the Universe is for the sake of the attainment of knowledge in life considered as a form in the first instance and what is called *Upasana* or psychological worship then begins and grows gradually till the great Light dawns on the devotee and the problem finds a practical solution. The repetition of some select mystic syllables in prescribed methods and with proper intonation in contemplative mood, mindful of their significance as expounded by the

Guru (Spiritual Preceptor) is believed to be highly efficacious to imbue the devotee with higher powers and in improving his *Aura*. This term *Aura* has been borrowed by the modern Scientists from the phraseology of the Occultists to denote the subtle atmosphere which surrounds the human being male or female. Walter J. Kilner, B.A., M.B., Cantab., late Electrician, St. Thomas Hospital, London, is the author of a recent publication entitled "The Human atmosphere or the aura made visible by the aid of Chemical Screens." This is quite a revelation by the modern Science, rather testimony that modern Science bears to the truth imbedded in Oriental Philosophy. What the Hindus call *Tapas* includes the mantric practices : this goes far to develop man's clairvoyant power to see such aura. Stronger than any fort and more secure than any steel armour is this atmosphere which the mind purged of its impurities by the prescribed mantric methods and trained to virtue, harbouring no ill-will and possessing unalloyed sympathy generates around man in proportion to his sinless and selfless activity. The cluster of luminous rays forming the aura creates quite a potential charm around man which no bomb ever so powerful can harm. Such is the cardinal principle that underlies the Dasara observances.

24. Ganesha Puja is the very first function undertaken to clear all obstacles and render the path to success safe. It signifies a vow to bachelorship, continence, for the time being so necessary to proper concentration of mind without which no Siddhi or power could be hoped for. Among the others, I may mention the Puja done to the State Horse, the State Elephant and the State Carriage ; these are worshipped to represent their respective prototypes, viz., the *Uchaisrava* (White horse) the *Iravatha* (white elephant) and *Devaratha* (Car) of Indra, the Ruler of the Celestials : the first, viz., the white horse symbolises riches and power and the second majesty and dignity, the third being the reminder of locomotion on the sacred path of virtue. The Puja offered to the Royal Throne and the State Arms is believed to infuse magnetism into them for the benefit of the worshipper. The ceremony of the Goddess slaying Mahishasura, the buffalo-headed monster signifies the destruction of Pride, Prejudice and Passions of which the buffalo is a reminder. In Mysore the Throne is the most valuable asset, the most sacred heritage of the Sovereign from his Royal ancestors. It constitutes the emblem of pure might in its normal conditions untainted, the lion below it signifying how by his superior nature and development the Sovereign holds all bestial instincts however powerful under complete subjection and control. During the Dasara, when His Highness wears the sacred *Kankana* and performs all the prescribed observances, an additional halo of purity is believed to surround him

too subtle to be seen by the naked eye : a clairvoyant however can recognise it, or it might perhaps be made visible by means of suitable chemical screens when such could come to be made.

25. The Chandi Homa, or the Great Sacrifice offered to the Goddess Durga on the 9th day at the conclusion of all the observances is regarded as highly efficacious. The principle it symbolises is the control of the passions, their sacrifice : literally the burning up in the sacred fire, of lust, hate, ire and pride and prejudice. This sacrifice when properly performed is believed to ward off calamities and counteract evil magnetism.

26. The Banni called the Sami tree in Sanskrit is what is known in Botany by the term *Prosopis Spicegera*. It is symbolic in more ways than one. In the first place it is intended to undo the effects of evil and to destroy sin. Thus, the Great Indian poet, Kalidasa, refers to the Sami as the seat of latent heat, there being in it material ready to produce fire. His words are "Samivabhyantra leena pavakam," like the Sami which bears the fire germ in it. The wood of this plant is used to generate sacrificial fire by friction when Yāgas are performed, and fire is regarded generally as Symbol of Energy : So, the Sami is meant as a reminder of concentrated Energy generated by a life of selfless activity, purity and love. Thirdly the word Sami is also a derivative from the term *Sama* which means Shanti, peace of mind. In this sense the Sami signifies freedom from aberration and equanimity representing a high stage of evolution and is regarded as the harbinger of prosperity.

27. The Pāndava Prince Arjuna in the Mahabharata, on the eve of his going to lead a life *incog* in the dominions of King Virata is said to have bundled up all his *Arms* and placed the bundle on a Banni tree and it looked like a veritable huge corpse, an appalling sight scaring away all on-lookers. None dared to approach it, till time came for him to reclaim and own them once more. This, it need hardly be said, is figurative intended to signify that that great hero had on that occasion to set aside all his real paraphernalia, to bid farewell to the tempests of passions and to centre all his martial spirit, his heroic energy and his *Astra Sakti*, i.e., power of manipulation of the secret forces in Nature and his control over the Elementals, in equanimity of temper and perfect peace of mind. His celebrated bow, the great *Gandiva* representing *Desire* was no longer active ; and self-control reigned supreme in him. His great prototype in this respect was Sri Rama of a far older age. The *Sami* tree is accordingly meant as a reminder that perfect self-command, patience and self-denial constitute the essential requisites to ensure success in life.

28. What I have said here goes, I believe, to show that the Dasara

in Mysore is celebrated as far as possible in conformity with the Vedic principles which, thanks to the disinterested labours of the modern scholars both of the Occident and the Orient, are beginning to attract the attention they so well deserve. The Vedic ceremonies are not meaningless ; nor useless. They constitute the precious gift to the world of the Most High ; and have been interpreted by the selfless sages of yore who by practice of what is called Yoga, concentration of mind or introspection were able to read the glories of Nature in her majestic innermost regions not open otherwise to ordinary mortal vision. They have spoken fearlessly of the results of their valuable experiments and researches for the benefit of mankind : their wisdom has also mercifully prescribed methods and courses for man's higher evolution. To follow them pure-minded and in a spirit of disinterested devotion elevates humanity. Among these, the Dasara observances find a prominent place. Those following them, whether individuals, or family units, or social bodies, as part of the prescribed functions, offer prayers for the happiness of the reigning Sovereign who in the course of his observance of the enjoined rites keeps in view the welfare of his subject population and the prosperity of his territory. The text of our daily prayer is quite an all-embracing significant formula. It says : " May the Kings and the Emperors successfully protect their subjects in the ways of justice : may prosperity attend the selfless and the innocent ; may all be happy ; may the clouds bring down rain timely ; and the earth bear abundant harvest ; may the country be free from calamities ; may the selfless and the innocent flourish fearless ; may the childless beget issue and multiply in generations ; may the penniless grow wealthy ; and may all live happy a hundred years." This chorus voiced by willing, sincere and loyal hearts in never-ending strains is expected to win Divine Grace.

29. Activities of the body and the mind require to proceed in tune with man's moral nature under the light of reason. They have to run parallel to awaken self-consciousness in man and throw open to him the portals of wisdom and higher life. Self-control, self-surrender, concentration, purity and continence, the results of training in the school of sacred observances, constitute the elements of speed on the normal line of higher evolution. Time spent on ceremonials as laid down by religion is never spent in vain ; it is so much treasure laid by ; credits and debits to our account in Nature's books are not *all* visible to the naked eye ; the process is ceaseless.

30. Enjoying as we do an antiquity beyond calculation, tracing descent to Maharishis of time-tested reputation and enjoying, through the disinterested exertions of our beloved and benevolent Sovereign, under the ægis of the British Government, peace, toleration and protection never before known,

shall we be found in any way wanting in our reverence to that hoary knowledge which in the mercy of Providence has come down to us for the regeneration and uplift of mankind ? Shall *Mantra Sastra* and *Yoga Sastra* be ours no more ? No ; an emphatic no, I expect to be the general answer. It is indeed highly auspicious that Mysore, the happy soil of survival,—here be this said to the glory of Great Britain for, to it, we owe the restoration of the ancient line of Royalty in this land—is fortunately not inactive, but pushing to the front in this direction. History, in her serene Majesty, records *Piety* as the brightest jewel in the diadem of Mysore Royalty. How exemplary is our present popular Sovereign's instance in this respect ? His Highness' unflinching attention in the midst of heavy State responsibilities to all normal religious observances is quite a charm against evil, calculated to ward off all calamities and is moreover destined to promote public prosperity in this land on a scale never before known.

May the Almighty, in the richness of His Grace, grant unto His Highness the Maharaja, health, wealth, progeny, prosperity and bliss eternal, is now our most loyal, universal, sincere, earnest prayer.

SOLAR SIGNS IN INDIAN LITERATURE.

(By B. V. KAMESWARA AIYAR, ESQ., M.A.).

FROM Kauṭilya's *Artha-Sastra* (Book II, ch. 20), we see that it was the Vedāṅga calendar that was in vogue then. Garga bases his Samhitā on the system of the Vedāṅga calendar. In fact, till the new solar calendar came into use, the Vedāṅga calendar continued to be current, however much it might have fallen out of date, just in the same way as we are now using the calendar of the 5th century A.D. though it has fallen behind by 1400 years.

About the 5th century A.D., we enter upon the second period of Hindu astronomy and mathematics. As Mr. G. R. Kaya observes, "the two periods are not only definitely separated by a considerable lapse of time, but they are also differentiated by the type of knowledge they exhibit. In spirit, in psychological attitude towards the subject, in the actual contents of the works, there could not be a wider separation." The aim is no longer to subserve sacrificial or Vedic requirements, but knowledge is pursued in a scientific spirit—knowledge for its own sake. This period is mainly represented by Āryabhaṭa, Varāha Mihira and Brahmagupta. Five-hundred years later came Bhāskara, whose work was more of the nature of consolidation than of construction.

Āryabhaṭa.—He is the earliest, so far as known, of the new school of Indian astronomers. He wrote in 499 A.D., when he was twenty-three years of age.* Astronomy was highly esteemed and pursued at his time in his native city of Kusumapura or Pataliputra. He wrote two little treatises. The smaller of the two consists of only 10 stanzas and is called the Dāsagitika. It gives his postulates and his system of numerical signs, which is on the Greek model. The other consists of 108 stanzas in all, in three parts or pādas, *Ganita* (mathematics), *Kālakriyā* and *Gola* (astronomy).

He anticipates Copernicus by stating that it is not the stars that move in the heavens. It is the daily rotation of the earth on its axis that causes this deceptive appearance, as in the case of a person in a fast moving vessel.† He gives a correct explanation of the lunar and the solar eclipses,‡ avoiding the puranic version. His table of sines is simply a modification of the sine-table of Paulus of Alexandria, whose system is known in India as the Pauliśa Siddhānta and was written about A.D. 380. The length of the sidereal year, according to Āryabhata, is 360 d, 6h, 12m, and 30 sec, whereas it was

* Kālakriyāpāda, sl. 10.

† Golap 9.

‡ Gola-40 et seq.

according to the Pauliśa six seconds more. The motions of the planets and other astronomical questions receive due attention from him. He does not trouble himself with the planetary astrology of the Alexandrian Greeks, to which other Indian writers of this period devote a great part of their attention.

He is among the earliest to recognise and adopt the sidereal year for the purposes of the calendar. He adopts the solar ecliptic of twelve signs (the ram, the bull, etc.), then current among the Alexandrian astronomers and adjusts the starting-point so as to suit his times. He also begins the year from the vernal equinox and divides the ecliptic into two halves—the northern hemisphere, from the vernal to the autumnal equinox and the southern, from the latter back again to the former.* He adjusts the older luni-solar calendar to the equinoctial sidereal year by making the luni-solar year begin from Chaitra śukla I, † the amānata date as near as possible to the sidereal year starting from the vernal equinox.

The adoption of the sidereal year and the solar signs, *meshā*, *vṛishabha*, etc., and the adaptation of the luni-solar year to the sidereal, by commencing it as near as possible to the vernal equinox, are the marked features of the calendar ushered in at this period. We, in Southern India, follow either the luni-solar calendar as adjusted by Āryabhāṭa—such of us as are known as *Siddhantins*—or the sidereal year as determined and fixed by Āryabhāṭa in his postulates known among us as *vākyas*.

In the Brāhmaṇa period also, the ecliptic had been divided into the northern and the southern hemispheres and the 27 asterisms marking it, divided into two sets, one revolving to the south of the North pole and the other to the north of the South pole. The former being known as the Deva-nakshatras, and the latter, as Yama-nakshatras. But the year began only with or near the winter-solstice and the only division of the year was that into the *udag-ayana* and the *dakṣiṇa-ayana*, the sun's northward course from the winter-solstice and his southward course from the summer-solstice. The equinoxes came to be recognised from the Vedāṅga epoch but did not affect the calendar.

The question that would naturally present itself to us is how this new year-beginning from the vernal equinox came about, in utter disregard of the older usage of the solstitial year. The remarks of the late Mr. J. Kennedy aptly explain this departure: 'That distinguished scholar, Dr. Fleet, whose death is a loss to learning and friendship used to ask himself how and where Indian astronomers learnt to commence their year with the spring-equinox. The Seleucidan, the Coptic and most of the calendars in vogue in

* मेषादः कन्यन्तं नौ ल्यादेमीनान्तं Gola 1.

† Kāla : St. 11.

the Levant begin their reckoning with the autumn-equinox. Only the Roman calendar and the year of Nabonidus reckon from the spring. Dr. Fleet thought that the Brahmins must have visited Rome. Perhaps so; but it is more probable, I think, that they took the spring-equinox for their starting point from Nabonidus. When the Alexandrian astronomers reformed their calendar in the reign of Diocletian they based their reform upon the Nabonidus era : and these astronomers were the teachers of the Indians".*

A variety of usages now crept in with regard to the seasons. Some treated the solar months *meshā* and *vṛishabha* as constituting the spring and so on. This was after the Alexandrian usage, though it did not accord with the course of the seasons in India, as according to this arrangement the rainy season would commence only a month after the summer-solstice. Others, more in conformity with the seasons as they prevailed in India and also with the older Vedāṅga order, treated *mēna* and *meshā* as spring and so on. These differences were introduced in the luni-solar calendar also, with the result that in this multiplicity of usages, *ritumimānsa* became a vexed question with scholiasts like Māhava and Rudradatta.†

Unlike Varāha-mihira, Brahmagupta and the later astronomers, Aryabhata reckons by the Kali-yuga and not by the Śaka era. He accepts the Puranic tradition that the Bhārata war occurred about the commencement of the Kali-yuga, and that the present Kali-yuga commenced from a conjunction of the sun, the moon and the planets. From the rates of motion of these several bodies, as then known, it was computed that such a conjunction last took place in B.C. 3102. From the more exact and accurate figures about their motion furnished by recent astronomy it is seen that there could have been *merely an approach* to such a conjunction and not an actual conjunction. The epoch of Kali-yuga or B.C. 3102 is thus based not on any actual observation at the time but simply on calculations made at a far later time on figures of rates of motion, not quite exact astronomically. The epoch of B.C. 3102 is merely the creation of astronomical computation and not quite correct at that. It is not a historical epoch, coming down from the date of the Bhārata war. The date given by Varāha mihira for this event, on the authority of Vriddha Garga, is different. It is śaka 2526 or about B.C. 2449. Kalhana, author of Rajatarangini the Kashmir chronicle, begins his tale from the Bhārata war, which with Varāha he places at śaka 2526, on

* J. R. A. S. 1917, p. 499.

† Cf. Mādhava's Kālamādhava, 'ritu-prakarana' and Rudradatta and Apastamba Sr. Sutra V—20.

* Br. s ch. xiii—3. Vriddha Garga's work is lost ; the Samhitā of a later Garga is available in the fragmentary extracts quoted by Somākara on the Vedāṅga and by Bhaṭṭotpala on Varāha's works. A third writer, Gārgī, is quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala ; but he must be later than A.D. 400.

the same authority. He writes,* 'Some are misled by the tradition that the Bhārata war took place at the end of the *Dvāpara yuga*. The truth is otherwise. The Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas flourished when 653 years of the Kali-yuga had elapsed.' There is much in the Brāhmaṇa literature that would go to support this view.

2. Next comes Varāhamihara. He adopts Śaka 427 (A. D. 505) for his *ahargana* basing it on the Romaka. Putting this along with the date of his demise (Śaka 506 or about A. D. 584) as given by Amarāja, commentator of Brahma-gupta's *Khaṇḍakhādya*, we might legitimately conclude that A.D. 505 was the date of his birth. M. M. S. Dvivedi is also of the same opinion though Dr. Thibaut thinks otherwise. Two of his works deal with astrology more or less. His *Bṛihat-jātaka* treats of the fortunes of individuals as determined by the positions of the several planets at their natal hour. It is largely based on the planetary astrology of the *yavanas*, by whom Varāha and other astronomers understand the Greek astronomers and astrologers of Alexandria. He mentions a number of his predecessors, such as Maya, Yavana, Maṇetha, Śakti, Vishṇugupta, Devasvāmin, Siddhasena, Jīvasarman and Satyat† who, from the quotations given by his commentator Bhaṭṭotpala, appear to have occupied themselves mainly with the planetary hoary astrology of the *yavanas*. In the concluding chapter of his *Bṛihat-jātaka* † he states that his work is only a short resume of the extensive works of others, which Bhaṭṭotpala interprets as referring to the works of the *yavanas*.

Varāha had probably learnt Greek. In his *Bribhat Samhitā* § occurs the praise of the *yavanas* on account of their proficiency in astrology and astronomy. These *yavanas* must be the Alexandrian Greeks subsequent to Ptolemy as the meridian of *Yavanapura* according to Varāha would indicate Alexandria. He gives the Greek equivalents of the twelve signs in his *Bribhat-jātaka*. The stanza runs

क्रियतावुरजितुमकुलीरलेयपार्श्वजुककौर्पस्थ्याः । तौशिकाकोकेरोहृद्रोगश्चात्यमंचत्थम् ॥

Br. Jāt. I-8.

He freely uses Greek astrological terms in his works; such as *horā* (half a sign or 15°), *drekkaṇa* (one-third sign, 10°), *Kendra* (1st, 4th, 7th and 10th houses or *rāśis*) ; *panaphara* (2nd, 5th, 8th and 11th houses), *apoklima* (3rd 6th, 9th and 12th houses), *jānutra* (4th house) and *jāmitra* (the 7th house).

* Rājatarangini, Chapter 1.

† Br. Jāt. VII-1, 710.

‡ Identified XXVIII-5.

§ Br. : Sam. II-15. It is not clear whether this stanza is by Garga, as is generally supposed or by Varāha himself. I am inclined to think it is by the latter.

* I. S. Max Müller, India—what it can teach us, p. 326.

In his Brihat-Samhitā Varāha treats of portents of natural phenomena, rain, draught, natural calamities, etc., as indicated by particular motions and appearances of the planets and it appears to be based partly on the older indigenous system of portents and auguries and partly on the theories of the Yavanas. These two works are interesting to us from a historical point of view, as showing that it was more the astrology of the Yavanas than their astronomy that engaged the enthusiastic attention of the Indians of this period.

In his third work, the Panchasiddhāntika, Varāha deals with the chief astronomical doctrines of the older and the later periods. Of the five systems dealt with in this work, two, those of Pitāmaha and Vasishṭha, treat of the older luni-solar calendar. Here, five years constitute a yuga of the sun and the moon ; the *adhimāsas* or intercalary months are inserted once every thirty months ; a *tithi* is omitted once in every sixty-two days, so that the *tithis*, which are each measured by the moon's getting ahead of the sun by twelve degrees, may be squared up with the civil days. The first cycle begins with the pratipad of Māgha Śukla, and Varāha notes that the correct epoch for the commencement of the five-year cycle was śaka 2 elapsed.

In the other three systems, Varāha summarises the teachings of the Paulisā, the Romaka and the Saura Siddhāntas. The Paulisā is presumably a translation or adaptation of the work of Paulus of Alexandria (about A.D. 380). The Romaka appears similarly to be a summary in Sanskrit of another Alexandrian system, ascribed to Śri-sena, a disciple of Āryabhaṭa and it is condemned by Brahmagupta as unorthodox (*smṛiti-bāhya*), as it gives an account of the yugas, manvantaras and kalpas different from what the Smṛitis recognised. The epoch employed by the Romaka is śaka 427 or A.D. 505, which I would regard as the date of the adaptation of the system in India. The Paulisā appears to have been adapted earlier, as indicated by the expression * *nātichire paulisepyevam* at the close of the first chapter of Panchasiddhāntika.

These two foreign systems must have been studied by the Hindus with great zeal, and they must have prepared the way for an orthodox system, which could embody all the refinements of the former and at the same time reconcile them with the traditional teachings. Such a work should have been the saura-siddhānta, whose main principles are summarised in the remaining chapters of Varāha's Pancha-siddhāntika. This work is now lost. The Sūrya-siddhānta, now extant, is presumably based on the original treatise and came into use about A.D. 1100. The original work must have

* Dr. Thibaut understands it differently. I have discussed this question in the tenth volume of 'The Sanskrit Journal,' 1905.

been accessible to Bhaṭṭotpala (A.D. 966) whose quotations from it are not to be found in the current treatise.

The original Saura Siddhānta appears, from the quotations by later commentators like Bhaṭṭotpala, to have been the standard authority for a considerable period. Its chief feature was that calculations were carried on by the mean system. The ecliptic was divided into twelve *rāśis*, mesha, etc., of 30 degrees each. The starting point of the ecliptic was Revati,* which coincided with the vernal equinox and which also marked the last point of the last *rāśi*, that of mīna or Pisces. This was different from the starting-point current among the Alexandrian Greeks.† The sidereal year commenced with the entry of the sun into the first point of mesha. Side by side with this there was also the luni-solar reckoning; but the years were, as in Aryabhaṭa, made to commence from *Chaitra-Śukla-pratipad*, so as to tally, as near as possible, with the sidereal year starting from the vernal equinox. The 27 nakshatra segments of the older system were adjusted with the duodecenary division, each sign or *rāśi* consisting of nine nakshatra-pādas from the first point of mesha. Thus, e.g., mesha comprised the four pādas of Asvini, four of Bharāṇi and one pāda of Kṛittikā.

The next great astronomer of the new school was Brahmagupta who, as he himself tells us in his Brahma-sphuṭa-siddhānta, wrote his great work at the court of King Vyāghra-mukha in Śaka 550 (A.D. 628) when he was thirty years of age. He is considered to have been a Vaisya, as indicated by the surname Gupta. He was an orthodox exponent of the new school and often attacked Āryabhaṭa, who had treated the older methods of the pre-yavana period with scant courtesy. His work consists of twelve adhyāyas and is based on the Brahma-siddhānta contained in the Vishṇudharmottara purāṇa. He was greater than his predecessors as a mathematician and applies Algebra and Geometry to the solution of astronomical problems. Bhāskara (Śaka 1036) follows and expands him.

He determined the longitude (*dhruva*) and the latitude (*vikshepa*) of the twenty-seven asterisms of the ecliptic, as well as of a few other stars. The mode of observation, as explained by the later commentators, was briefly as follows. Place the *gola-yantra* (an armillary sphere) so that its axis may point to the pole and the horizon, be true by a water-level; then look at the star Revati, through a sight fitted to an orifice at the centre of the yantra. Having found that star, adjust by means of it the end of the

* Cf. Bhaṭṭotpala on Br. jāt. 1—7.

† Cf. Colebrooke's Mis. Essay, Vol. II, p. 345 foot-note, "the origin of the ecliptic in the Greek book which is most likely to have become known in India is $6^{\circ} 20'$ from the star [Revati] which the Hindus have selected to mark the commencement of the ecliptic." It must have been one degree and qdd, further from the starting point as fixed by Hipparchus.

sign *mīna* on the ecliptic. Then look through the sight for the *Yogatāra* or chief star of the next nakshatra *Aśvini* and bring the moveable circle of declination over it. The distance in degrees from the intersection of this declination-circle and the ecliptic to the end of *mīna* is its longitude in degrees ; the number of degrees on the circle of declination from the same intersection to the place of the star is its latitude north or south.*

The longitudes and latitudes so determined are only apparent (*sphuta*), not quite accurate, and would seem to require correction, the average error being about one degree. Bhāskara adopts those of Brahmagupta ; the current Surya-siddhānta and some of the later works like those of Ganeśa and Muniśvara, though mainly agreeing with these, assign different figures to a few *yoga-tāras*.

So far we have not considered the precession of the equinoxes, which is a slow backward motion of the equinoctial and the solstitial points along the ecliptic. It is caused by the action of the sun, moon and planets on the protuberant matter about the earth's equator, in connection with the diurnal rotation of the earth. On account of this the equinoxes and the solstices occur about one day earlier once every seventy-two years or so. This motion is not uniform; its present rate is $50^{\circ}1'$ "annually. Dr. Schram states that 2000 years ago it was 46° and that it is not possible to give generally correct figures for long periods. The practical effect of precession becomes apparent only after the lapse of a thousand years and more. The Vedāṅga states that the winter-solstice occurred when the sun entered the first point of śravishṭhā. Varāha, who notes this Vedāṅga position, remarks that in his time the winter-solstice occurred when the sun entered the first point of mṛiga or Capricorn. It now occurs about 20° earlier—that is to say, the *vishus* and the *ayanas* now occur about twenty days earlier than at the time of Varāha. The Hindus did not accept precession till the time of Manjāla (śaka 584) and Bhāskara. Varāha simply notes the different position of the sun at his own time and states that it must be so, because the earlier authorities say so. He says that the fact that the solstices occurred at his time when the sun reached the tropic of Capricorn or Cancer could be seen by observing at sun-rise the position of the shadow of a perpendicular rod planted at the centre of a big horizontal circle. A writer, cognisant of precession, would hardly try to support his statement with such a bald explanation. Bhāskara asks, "how is it that such eminent astronomers as Brahmagupta have not noticed the precession of the equinoxes?" and replies that it was because the equinoctial point had shifted from Revati only to an inappreciable extent at the time of Brahmagupta (तदास्वल्पत्वात्) and did

* Br. Sam. III—1 to 3.

not arrest their attention, whereas in his own time the extent of the shifting had become considerable.

From this brief historical survey of Indian astronomy and the several calendrical schemes in vogue in India from the earliest period down to the twelfth century A.D. it will be seen that the sidereal year beginning from the vernal equinox and the division of the ecliptic into twelve rāśis came into use in India only in the fifth century A.D. The coincidence of the spring equinox with Revati would point to the same epoch. The current Suryasiddhānta places this coincidence in Śaka 422, reckoning the annual precession at 54". The vākyā-panchāṅga adopts the sidereal year of Āryabhaṭa, which errs by an excess of 3' 20.4" (amounting to one day in 430 years), with the result that the vernal equinox now actually occurs about 20 days earlier than what we still treat as *mesha-vishu*. This again would give us the close of the fifth century A.D. for the time when the sidereal and the tropical meshā-sankrāntis coincided. The translators and annotators of the current Surya-Siddhānta, Dr. Burgess and Dr. Whitney, after a careful calculation and examination connected with the position of the junction stars of the nakshatras, resulting in proof of an average error of longitude,* state that this would indicate that the Hindu measurements of position were made about A.D. 490. It may be thus safely concluded that the solar signs, the asvīnyādi ecliptic and the equinoctial year were introduced in India about the close of the fifth century A.D.

It may be contented that as the Indians had recognised solar years and seasons from the period of the Vedāṅga, if not earlier, and as many Western scholars and even Indian writers like the late lamented Mr. B. G. Tilak are inclined to think that the Indians of the Vedic period were indebted to Babylonia for some of their ideas and even words like *manā* (R. V. VIII-78-2), the Indians might have borrowed the solar signs from the Babylonians long before the Christian era.

It is true that the Mait. Upanishad, the Vedāṅga, Parāśara and other Samhitās recognise solar years and seasons; but nowhere, in any Indian work prior to the Christian era, is to be found any reference to the twelve *picture-signs* like the ram or the bull or the solar months named after these pictures. There is a vast body of literature, Vedic and post-Vedic, still extant, extending from the earliest period down to the Christian era—such as the Brāhmaṇas, the Āranyakas and Upanishads, Sutras like the Nidāna, those of Lātyāyana, Gobhila, Baudhāyana, which among other things treat of solar and luni-solar calendars. There is Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra which Western scholars, except perhaps Professor A. B. Keith are disposed to consider as an authentic

* R. Sewell's Indian Chronography, p. 12.

work of the time of Chandragupta. There is Patanjali, that garrulous scholiast of Panini and contemporary of Hipparchus who is so fond of talking about all things that came under his observation. Is there in these works any mention of the picture-signs or of the meshadi months or *rāsiś*? It must be admitted that in a few works assigned to the centuries before the Christian era, a few passages with such references have been pointed out. These passages will be examined in the sequel and it will be shown that they are either spurious or later interpolations.

The intercourse between Northern India and Babylon in or before the first millennium B.C. is a theory that has still to be proved; but granting it for argument's sake, we have to prove far more than a mere commercial intercourse, such as would be necessary for a free interchange of intellectual ideas and systems. But looking at the history of the solar signs we find that the Indian signs as we find them in our extant literature could not have come to us direct from the Euphratean valley. Probably, as early as the days of Hammurabi (about B.C. 2200) the Babylonians had the combinations of prominent groups of stars, lying about the ecliptic, which they represented by more or less fanciful outlines of the pictures of the ram, the bull and so on. But as Prof. Jastraw observes* there is no evidence that prior to B.C. 700 more than a number of the constellations of the present zodiac had become part of their current zodiac. The division of the ecliptic into twelve constellations does not appear to have been perfected until after the fall of the Babylonian Empire in B.C. 539. The golden age of Babylonian astronomy belongs not to the remote past as was until recently supposed but to the Seleucid period, *i.e.* after the advent of the Greeks in the Euphrates valley. The defectiveness of early Babylonian astronomy may be gathered from the fact that as late as the sixth century B.C. an error of almost an entire month was made by Babylonian astronomers in their attempt to determine through calculation the beginning of a certain year—". Was it worth while borrowing such a clumsy make-shift, when the Brahmans had a Vedāṅga luni-solar calendar which could never go seriously wrong except after the operation of a thousand years of precession?

It was Kleostratos (B.C. 496) who is said to have introduced the Babylonian signs of the zodiac into Greece. Babylonian astrology began to 'inveade the dominion of Greek and Roman culture in the middle of the fourth century B.C. The earlier Greeks like Eudoxos (B.C. 380) and Hipparchus (B.C. 150) cultivated astronomy in a scientific spirit. It was

* Ency. Britt., 11th Edn., Vol. II, p. 797.

† Ency. Britt. Art, zodiac

† Max Muller's India, p 322,

Hipparchus who re-arranged the position of the signs of the zodiac with reference to the vernal equinox as it stood at his time. He determined with approximate accuracy the chief data of astronomy, the length of the sidereal and the tropical year, the obliquity of the ecliptic, and the synodic periods of the planets. About 250 years later the constructive labours of Hipparchus obtained completion at Alexandria under Ptolemy (A.D. 130), whose *Almagest* was the 'consummation of Greek astronomy.' There were no original investigations after him. These were simply commentators like Theon and his daughter Hypatia (about A. D. 400); and the works of this period are more astrological than scientific.

In the Babylonian and Assyrian zodiac, there were twelve divisions; but the picture-signs were only eleven. The two divisions now represented by the scorpion and balance were symbolised by a pair of scorpions, as shown by the zodiac carvings even on the later Assyrian cylinders. The early Greeks represented the two signs by a single scorpion with its claws stretching across the two divisions. Even Hipparchus does not know the balance as a separate sign and 'it is first mentioned by Geminus and Varro, about the beginning of the first century B.C. Hence the important criterion laid down by Létronne—in whatever document or book the balance occurs as a separate sign, that document or book cannot be earlier than the first century B.C.,' * when it must have been introduced by the Greeks presumably as a symbol of equal day and night. If we could point to *one* passage in Indian literature mentioning a pair of scorpions or a single scorpion with its claws covering two divisions of the zodiac, we can say without any hesitation that the solar zodiac and its symbolic pictures must have come to India from Assyria (if not Babylon) some centuries before the Christian era or from the Greeks in the first century B.C. But so long as this is not forthcoming, we must be content with holding that the solar signs cannot have come to us through Babylon or Assyria and must be later than the first century B.C.

It might be still possible to hold that the solar signs could have come into India from the Greeks in the first century B.C. or at any rate in the interval between B.C. 100 and A. D. 490, and the asvinyādi ecliptic commencing from or very near the asterism Revati might be merely a later correction at the close of the fifth century A.D. If so, could Varaha Mihirā who refers to a far earlier position of the solstices have failed to notice a position of the equinoxes removed from him by only five or six centuries? Again he refers to a great many writers and their views and theories in his works—writers like Satyacharya, Maya, Bhadanta—extracts from whose works have been quoted by commentators like Bhattotpala. A single passage from their works or from

* Max Müller's India, 1st Edn., p. 322.

the quotations given by them, just to show that the Meshadi ecliptic in India ever began at any point except Revati or that the Revati ecliptic was a later correction adapted to a later date is all that is required to bowl down my theory. Is there any such? It will not do to say that such passages may have once existed and been lost. We have to argue from facts known and not simply take refuge in the adage that everything is possible under the sun. Again, how could any correction have been made, when the Hindus had no idea of precession till centuries afterwards?

I may here add that it is not enough for two peoples merely to come into contact with each other, for one to borrow a scientific scheme like the solar calendar or the equinoctial year from the other or adopt it with necessary modifications into their existing schemes. An exchange of commercial product requires little effort; it is otherwise with the borrowing or exchange of intellectual ideas or devices. This is especially the case with the Hindus with their conservative instincts and intellectual exclusiveness. A collision of two cultures, a clash and competition if need be, an effort to understand and appreciate different and sometimes conflicting modes of thought and circumstances favouring such mutual intercourse are all necessary before alien ideas or systems can obtain recognition at the hands of a people accustomed to regard themselves as a superior race and to look down on foreigners as *Mlechhas*.

Opportunity for such intelligent and mutually appreciative intercourse comes rarely in the early history of a nation; one such presented itself in the early history of India in the golden period of the Guptas. Chandragupta II, who appropriately bears the title of Vikramāditya, and ascended the Gupta throne about A.D. 375 advanced to the Arabian sea through Mālwā and Guzārat and subdued the peninsula of Surāshtra or Kathiawar. This, the late Mr. V. Smith regards as his greatest military achievement. The campaign is known to have taken place between A. D. 388 and 401. "The annexation of Surāshtra and Mālwā not only added to the empire provinces of exceptional wealth and fertility but opened up to the paramount power free access to the ports of the Western Coast and placed Chandragupta II in direct touch with the sea-borne commerce with Europe through Egypt and brought his court and subjects under the influence of the European ideas, which travelled with the goods of the Alexandrian merchants."*

The Gupta sovereigns were great patrons of Hindu religion and culture. "The Gupta period, 'more particularly the fourth and fifth centuries, was a time of exceptional intellectual activity in many fields—a time not unworthy of comparison with the Elizabethan and Stuart periods in England.' The

* Smith's 'Early History of India,' 3rd Edn., pp. 290.

period was distinguished by 'a general literary impulse,' the effects of which were visible in poetry as well as in law books and many other forms of literature." *

As the late Mr. J. Kennedy says, the intercourse thus set on foot between India and the West 'was no longer confined to the merchant class. Brahmans and learned men took part in it.' The Brahmans who went to Alexandria went there to study Alexandrian astronomy and astrology 'Damascius writes in A.D. 500 that certain Brāhmans were putting up with the ex-consul at Alexandria..... They were more anxious to observe the rules of their caste than to enquire into strange religions. It was Alexandrian science and not Alexandrian Christianity that they came to learn.' † We may be sure that the Brahman sojourn to Alexandria commenced from the early part of the fifth century, A. D.

Thus there was a remarkable intellectual activity in Northern India, a revival of Indian learning and religion, a 'renaissance of Sanskrit literature,' which Max Müller less appropriately transferred to the period of Harshavardhana (A.D. 605 to 648). The glorious achievements of the Indians in the several branches of learning in the earlier period of the Guptas were due not simply to the patronage of the Gupta sovereigns but also to the contact and collision of two distinct civilisations and centres of culture—the Indian, with its hoary past and the Alexandrian, rich with the fruits of Greek learning.

One of the chief attractions to the study of Alexandrian science by the Brahmans was the planetary astronomy which offered to read the future of the individual as well as of the State. The Babylonians had been the first to cultivate this branch of study; and from them it was taken over by the Greeks; and in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D., it was carried by the Alexandrian Greeks far beyond the limits attained by the Babylonians. It was these Yavanas that elaborately developed the theory of the influence of the planets.

The Brahmans of the fifth century A.D. appear to have been more enthusiastic in their pursuit of the *phala-sāstra* than of Yavana mathematics and astronomy. They called this branch of study as *horā-Sāstra*, i.e., hoary astrology, as according to its teaching, the future of an individual is determined by the position of the several planets in the rāsi-chakra at the hour of birth. The word *horā* is a borrowing from Yavana astrology. It is the Greek word *orā* which meant a space of time. Hipparschus restricted the application of the word to denote one-twenty-fourth part of a nycthemeron; and in Alexandrian astrology it acquired a further significance,

* *Id.*, pp. 304-305.

† J. R. A. S. 1917, pp. 492, *et seq.*

‡ Br. Jat. ?—3.

'half a solar sign,' malefic or beneficent according to the position of the planets in the several houses. In Indian astrology it is used in the sense of 'half a sign.'

Varāha writes, होरेत्यहोरात्रविकलपमेकेवांशन्तिपूर्वापरवर्णलोपात्। Bhaṭṭotpala comments that this is the view of Varāha, as he does not give any other derivation and supports this statement by a quotation from Kalyāṇa Śarma's *Sāravali* "आशन्तवर्णलोपात्". But what Varāha says is simply that *some* would derive *hora* in this way, which shows that he himself was not in favour of the derivation. The presumption would be that the fanciful, though patriotic etymology of the word, favoured by a few writers at the time of Varāha was in later times accepted as the correct one. Philology would condemn such etymological methods.

It is the division of the civil day into twenty-four hours that gave birth to the week. The planets including the sun and the moon were arranged in the order of their distance from the earth—Saturn the most distant coming first, then Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon, as stated by Āryabhaṭa : “भानामषः शनैश्चरस्सुरयुर्मौमार्कुषचंद्राः…… सप्तैत्होरेषाः……”* These were called the lords of horā, the day being divided into twenty-four hours and the first hour of the first day being dedicated to Saturn the first in the order of the greatest distance. The next hour of the first day fell to Jupiter, the planet next in distance ; and so on. In this order, the 25th hour, i.e., the first hour of the next day fell to the Sun ; the days were named from the planets including Sun and Moon, that were thus regarded as presiding over the first hour of each day. In this scheme the first day of the week was Saturday and the last day was Sunday. The Christians regarded Sunday as the Lord's day and when Constantine the Great, the Emperor of Rome, became a convert to Christianity, after A.D. 323, he, by an edict, transferred the precedence among the week-days to the Lord's day or Sunday ; and the order of the week-days hereafter stood from Sunday to Saturday.

The week-days were originally of Babylonian origin. The Alexandrian Greeks were the first to adopt this scheme. 'From Alexandra, about the beginning of the Christian Era, the seven days' week was imported together with the names of the individual days to the Greeks, whose months were previously divided into three decades.' Some time later, the Romans adopted it ; their month had been, previously, divided into three periods, *calends*, *nones* and *ides*. The order of the week day was of course Saturday to Sunday in both these countries, till it was changed under the orders of Constantine the Great in the fourth century A.D.

* Kāta : Pāda 15 and 16.

The week-day system is not known to the Indian literature before the Christian era; nor is the division of the day into 24 parts, on which the week is based, met with anywhere. The Brāhmaṇas as well as the Vedāṅga, Garga, etc., down to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*² measure time by the *muhurta*, of which they counted 15 for the day and 15 for the night.³ Of the two varieties of the month recognised down to the period of the Sutras, the *sāvana* month of 30 civil days was, for purposes of the annual sacrifices known as *satras* (Gavām-Ayana, etc.), divided into five periods of sixdays each (*shadaha*) and the synodic month was divided into two *pakshas*, each of which was divided into three periods of five *tithis* each, as will be evident from the fact that the names of each group are derived from a common root.⁴

The earliest instance of the use of the week-day in Indian epigraphy is, so far as known, found in a Gupta inscription dated A.D. 484. From the ninth century A.D. the use of week-days in *dāna-sasanas* becomes general. Mr. R. Sewell notes, 'the citation of the week-day in a date professedly earlier than about A.D. 400 at once raises a suspicion as to the genuineness of the record.'⁵

The results of this enquiry may be thus summed up: (1) If we meet with any mention of the solar signs (*rāśis* and *lagnas*), such as *mesha*, *vṛishabha*, etc., or the equinoctial meshadi year in any Indian work and if the passage wherein such mention occurs can, by internal evidence, be presumed to be a genuine portion of the work, that work cannot be earlier than about the middle of the fifth century A.D. If there is no reason to hold that the passage is an integral portion of the work, the passage may be safely regarded as a later interpolation—what commentators call *prakshipta*. (2) The use of the word *horā* in Sanskrit or *வேர்* in Tamil, in the astrological sense of a fraction of the day, beneficent or malefic according to the position of the planets at the time, will bring the date of the passage, if not the work itself, to the middle of the fifth century A.D. (3) A similar inference can be drawn from the mention of the week or week day in an Indian work.

This is something in the proverbial uncertainty attaching to all Indian chronology. A great many works were not committed to writing till a late date. The absence of printing and censorship offered facilities for additions and interpolations according to the predilections of individual redactors or

1 Chambers' Encycl. Art. Chronology.

2 Arthaśāstra II, 20-107.

3 Taittī Br. III, 10.

4 The first five *tithis* of the purva paksha derive their names from the root *jnā*, the second five, from *kliṣṭ* and so on.

5 Indian Chronography, p. 4.

even copyists ; and these additions came in course of time to be considered as integral portions of the works so tampered with. Sometimes whole chapters were inserted ; sometimes the older works were modified and recast and came to be re-issued in two or more editions and we may be sure that each succeeding recension came out bigger, if poorer for the bulk. The works that most suffered in this way were the Rāmāyana and the Bhārata, the Purānas and the Smritis.*

* E. F. My Sandhyavandanam, 2nd Edn., pp. 58 to 62.

TIRUMANGAI AZHVAR AND DANTIDURGA.

(BY K. G. SESHA IYER, ESQ., B.A., B.L.)

IN attempting to ascertain the date of Tirumangai Azhvar, one of the accepted Vaishnava saints, scholars have asserted that there are almost precise references to historical facts and personages in his poems that indisputably tend to assign him to the eighth century after Christ. Among those that have striven to establish this conclusion, Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar stands foremost, as I believe he was among the first to definitely state it; and he has in several of his essays emphasized it. The poems that are relied on in this connection are the *patigam* in honour of Ashta-bhujam Chakrarayar (Periya Tiru Mozhi II.8) and the *patigam* in honour of Parameswara Vinnagaram. (Periya Tiru Mozhi II. 9). It is stated that in the first of these two poems there is a direct reference to the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga's occupation of Kanchi as a contemporay event, and in the second poem there is an unmistakable allusion to Nandivarman Pallava Malla. Since these statements were first made, they have been in effect accepted as true, and consequently as conclusive of the date of the saint. The object of this paper is to examine briefly the correctness of these assertions.

The reference to Dantidurga is stated to be contained in the following lines :—

மன்னவர் தொண்டையர்கோன் வணக்கு சீஞ்முடி மாலை வயிரமேகன்
தன்வலி தன்புசற் குழந்த கச்சியட்ட புயக்கரத்தாதிதங்களை.

The occurrence of the expression Vairameghan in these lines arrested the attention of the archaeologist, and he eagerly seized it and attempted to make history from it. He had known that a Rashtrakuta of the name of Dantidurga had laid siege to Kanchi in or about 754 A. C., and that he assumed the title of Vairamegha, perhaps in memory of his exploit; and knowing this, the archaeologist read the lines to allude to this siege. Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar, who has very properly exploited Tamil literature, quite as much as archaeology and epigraphy for the purpose of building up South Indian history, rendered these lines as follows: "The first being that is in Atta bhuyagaram in Kanchi that was surrounded by the forces and fame of Vairameghan of long garland and high crown, entitled to the respectful submission of the Pallava, the ruler of the Tondas (people of Tondamandalam)." (Ancient India, p. 322). Understanding the Tamil passage like this, he wrote in another essay, that Tirumangai Mannan referred to a Vairameghan, 'bowed down to

by the ruler of the Tonda country whose army (or strength) surrounded Kanchi'. The language, he said, warranted the inference that the reference was to a living person; and professedly relying on Periya Achan Pillai's commentary, where, it is said, Vairameghan is explained to mean *chakravarti* or emperor, the learned professor continued: "Thus it is clear that at the time referred to, there was a Pallava ruler who was under the protection of an imperial personage, whose name (or rather title) was Vairameghan. Among the inscriptions so far brought out, we have not often come across the name, but to the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga II is ascribed this title in the Kadaba plates published by Mr. Rice..... The King of Kanchi during the period including A.D. 754, the only known date of Dantidurga Vairamegha, was Nandivarman who ruled for fifty years from about A.D. 710..... The inference, therefore, seems to be warranted that the Alvar flourished in this period exactly..... The date of Tirumangai Alwar then has to be allotted to the earlier half of the eighth century of the Christian era." (*Ibid.* pp. 411-413) If Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's interpretation of the passage be accepted, his conclusion may, perhaps, follow; but is his interpretation correct?

I venture to say, with all respect to the distinguished scholar, that he has in his zeal for historic research read into the passage meanings not intended by the poet. In other poems, Tirumangai Mannan refers to the Pallava kings of Tondaimandalam in strains of praise as having built and consecrated temples in honour of Vishnu. Reference may here be made to his *Tiruvallikkēñi patigam* (Periya Tiru Mozhi II. 3. 10.), his *Tillai Tiru Chitrakūda patigam* (P.T.M. III. 2. 3.), and his *Parameswara Viññagara patigam* (P.T. M. II. 9.). In the present instance, however, the reference to the Pallava Tondaiman is, according to Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar, to his humiliation and subjugation by an invader, who had done no act of godliness or munificence to any Vaishnava temple to deserve even a casual mention by the Vaishnavite saint. If perhaps the Pallava king then reigning in Kanchi had by his deeds of profanation or sacrilege provoked the ire of the devotee, the saint might have some excuse for thus pillorying him. There is, however, no warrant for suspecting that Nandi Varman Pallava Mallan, the last great Pallava King of Kanchi, who was the ruler of Tondaimandalam when the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga advanced upon that holy city, had been guilty of any such act. On the other hand, if the identification of the Pallavan *Mällaiyar Kon* (பல்வெளன் மல்லையர்க்கோன்) or *Pallavar Kon* (பல்வெளர்க்கோன்) celebrated in almost every verse of *Parameswara Viññagara patigam*, with Nandivarman Pallava Mallan be correct, it is impossible to conceive that Tirumangai Azhvar would have in singing the praise of the temple at Kanchi made a pointed, humiliating

and mortifying reference to that great king's defeat in his own capital by a comparatively unknown foreigner. Again, if the poet felt impelled by circumstances to refer to the investment of Kanchi, it would be more naturally to invoke imprecation on the intruder rather than to glorify the stranger who had humbled the traditional guardian of the shrine at Kanchi before its very walls. If the poet's object was to hold up to contempt in one breath the ruler and the people of Tondaimandalam, to lower the prestige and importance of the shrine at Kanchi and to ridicule the importance of the tutelary deity of the Pallava, then, it seems to me, we might attribute to the Tamil couplet the meaning that the learned professor has given : and then, we will have succeeded in attributing to Tirumangai Mannan, who is acknowledged on all hands to be one of the greatest masters of Tamil song and one of the most soul-stirring among the Tamil hymnists, the unenviable distinction of spoiling one of his most beautiful lyrics by a ludicrous anticlimax at the close. I honestly believe that the meaning attributed to the Tamil couplet is forced or unnatural, and it cannot be accepted ; and I do so, even though I know Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar has explained the passage in exactly the same way.*

What then do the lines mean ? A student of Tamil, who is not anxious to see in them a possible mile-stone in Tamil literary history will, I submit, feel no difficulty in taking Vairameghan to be in apposition with Mannavan Tondaiyar Kon (மன்னவன் தோந்தையர்கள்) ; nor will he feel any difficulty or doubt in regarding both வரஸ் and ஆதிதை as nouns in the objective case referring to Maha Vishnu. The meaning will then be,

" 1. Tiru Mäl (Maha Vishnu) who wears a long (garland of) *tulasi* (*ocimum sanctum*) and who is worshipped by the King, Vairameghan, king of the people of Tondaimandalam.

" 2. The First Being, who as the eight-armed manifestation of Vishnu resides in Kanchi, guarded by the power and fame of the (said) king (Vairameghan)."

According to the commentary Vairameghan is the (வைராமே஘ன்) or family name of the kings of Kanchi. If so, it will signify 'descendants of Virameghan' (Cf. Saippiyan—descendant of Sibi). Virameghan, the name of the original ancestor of the family, might, on the analogy of 'Kala meghan', and 'Nila meghan', be regarded as a name of Vishnu which was adopted as a proper human appellation ; or the expression might be regarded as descriptive of the prowess of the person to whom the name was given, when it would mean 'the person who is capable of raining arrows on his foes'. However the name originated, it is not improbable, as the commentator says that it was the

* Vide III, Sen, Tamil, p. 483.

family name of the Pallava rulers of Kanchi; and Dantidurga in the flush of his short-lived victory or ascendancy over perhaps Nandivarman adopted the title of the conquered foe. I see no reason for holding that Dantidurga was the first in history to assume the name or title of Vairameghan. The circumstances in which he took the title are not mentioned; and it will not be an unwarranted view to hold that it was consequent on his conquest of Kanchi that he appropriated the title. If so, apart from the extreme unnaturalness already referred to of Tirumangai Mannan praising Dantidurga in terms of glorification, it is humanly speaking impossible for the bard to refer to the invader as Vairameghan.

The authority of Periya Achan Pillai has been vouched for the explanation of Vairameghan as *chakravarti* or emperor; and based on this explanation, the statement has been made that 'it is clear that, at the time referred to, there was a Pallava ruler who was under the protection of an imperial personage, whose name (or rather title) was 'Vairameghan'. (Ancient India p. 411). I submit this is not fair to the commentator. Vairameghan is stated to have been the *chakravarti* of Kanchi. *Chakravarti* need not necessarily denote an emperor; but supposing it does, why should we infer that the Pallava ruler of Kanchi was under the protection of an emperor called Vairameghan? The origin and history of the Pallavas of Kanchi cannot be said to be beyond doubt. As Mr. Vincent A. Smith observes in 'The Oxford History of India', 'the Pallavas constitute one of the mysteries of Indian history'; and the Pallavas of Kanchi share the mystery with the other Pallavas of history. According to accounts found in ancient Tamil literature, Nedumudik-Killi, the son of Karikāla Chola, contracted a marriage with a Nāga princess; and of that marriage a son was born to him, who came to be celebrated in literature as Tondaiman Ilandiraiyan. (Vide *Maṇimēkhalai and Perumbānāṭṭrappadai*). This Tondaiman became the ruler of Kanchi, while his father ruled at Puhar and Uraiyur. Thus the first Tondaiman of Kanchi was the son of a Nāga princess who had been married by a Chola. It is my belief that the term Pallava is only the Samskrit equivalent of the Tamil Tondaiman. That the Pallavas had in their historic origin some connection with the Nāgas may be concluded from the expression Pāmpudai-p-pallavan (பாம்புடைப்பல்லவன்) used by Tirumangai Azhvar (P. T. M. II. 9. 5). Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil who has devoted considerable time and attention to the history of the Pallavas, holds on the strength of the recital in the Velūrpālaiyam plates that the Pallavas attained regal status by marriage with the daughter of a Nāga king. The Nāga origin of the Pallavas of Kanchi is reiterated by him in his 'Ancient History of the Deccan'; and he tells us that on the fall of the Satavahana dynasty, a member of the Pallava family ascended the throne

of Kanchi. Thus it may be posited as a matter of ascertained history that the Pallava reigned at Kanchi from about the beginning of the third century after Christ. The Pallavas of Kanchi seem to have been more than petty rulers. They had their conquests over neighbouring powers ; and they were patrons of arts and learning and were besides great temple builders. They raised the Pallava empire of Tondaimandalam at Kanchi and it was probably in view of their eminence that they assumed the name Pallava Mallan, which means Pallava the great or Pallava the strong. Their position of pre-eminence among rulers is patent from the following words of Tirumangai Mannan :

“ பல்வங் வில்லனென்றுவில் பலராய்ப் பலவேந்தர் வணக்கு சழல் பல்வங் மல்லையர்கோன் ” (P. T. M. II. 9.1)

“ பார்மன்னு பல்வங்கோன் ” (P. T. M. II. 9.2).

“ பார்மன்னு தொல் புஞ்சப் பல்வங்கோன் ” (P. T. M. II. 9.10).

There is thus no necessity to seek for a stranger exercising imperial control over the Tondaiman of Kanchi. The Tondaiman himself was of sufficient importance to be treated as *Chakravarti* by the commentator and most probably as the commentary says the Tondaimans had the family name of Vairameghan.

Does the *patigam* in honour of Parameswara Vinnagaram settle the question ? I believe it does not. In every verse of that lyric, the Azhvar eulogizes a Pallava ruler ; and then it has been stated that that Pallava ruler is Nandi Varman. Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar does not positively say so, though he is inclined to that view ; and he is prepared to admit that the references may be to several Pallava princes or ' in fact all the Vaishnava Pallavas '. (Ancient India, pp. 410-411). Pandit Raghava Aiyangar, however, asserts that the reference in the various verses of the lyric is to Nandi Varman Pallava Mallan, the last great Pallava ruler, who is said to have been conquered and held in subjection by Dantidurga. The basis for this view is that the Udayachandramangalam grant (Indian Antiquary, Vol. VIII, 273) mentions certain wars and battles as having been won by Udayachandra for his master Nandi Varman ; and among these are the battle of Mannaiku(di), won against the Pandiya, and the battle of Nelveli. The Azhvar's lyric also mentions a Pallava victory at Mannai and another at Nenmeli. From these premises is drawn the conclusion that the Pallava king whom the Azhvar praises is Nandi Varman. Now the lyric mentions specifically by name three fields of battle where the Pallava monarch won a victory ; and these are Mannai, Karur and Nenmeli. The language of the poem where these battles are referred to (stanzas 3, 7 and 8) indisputably shows that the

Pallava monarch himself fought and won those battles, and not Udayachandra or any other general. Of these, the battle of Mannai is mentioned as an event of ancient history ; but the name of the party who sustained defeat is not mentioned, and if I might be permitted to make a guess, it was perhaps the Chola king, that was vanquished there.* In the commentary Mannai is explained as the name of a river, where a battle was fought. So the syllogism based on this particular event stands like this :—

According to the lyric a Pallava king of Kanchi won a battle in days of yore at the Mannai river (possibly against the Chola).

The grant states that Udayachandra, the general of Nandi Varman of Kanchi won a battle at Mannaikudi against the Pandiya.

Therefore the Pallava king of the lyric is Nandi Varman.

Is the similitude essentially different from the well-known similitude between Monmouth and Macedon ? If the Azhvar was referring to the achievement of a contemporary, is he likely to have spoken of the event as an event of ancient days ? Besides, why should he have deprived the victorious Udayachandra of the glory by assigning it to the king who, though he did not appear in the field of battle, is yet described as the actual hero of the field ? It may, however, be contended that the cumulative effect of all the references to Pallava victories in the lyric is unmistakably to show that the Pallava king sung about is Nandi Varman. Let us see what the other references come to. In the 7th stanza, the Azhvar refers to a battle at Karur where the Pandiya was defeated. In the grant, however, there is no mention of any battle at Karur, though it mentions a fairly long list of seven battle fields where success attended the Pallava arms. Nandi Varman's war with the Pandiya is expressly mentioned in the grant, and the only battle referred to in connection with that war is the battle of Mannaikudi, already considered. The battle of Karur, from the way it is mentioned in the lyric, was apparently an event of outstanding importance ; and if the victor at Karur was Nandi Varman it is strange that that victory is not made mention of in the grant. Then in the 8th stanza occurs a reference to the battle of Nenmeli (நெஞ்சமெலி), where Tirumangai Azhvar, says the Pallava king himself, wielding the battle-spear in his right arm, fought the Chera or Villavan as he is there called. (வில்வன் நெஞ்சமெலியில் வெருவக்கெருவேல் வலங்கைபிடித்த படைத்திறல் பல்லவர்கோன்). Turning to the grant, we find it stated that among the victories won by Udayachandra was one on the battle field of Nelveli. There is no mention of any victory over the Chera, and, indeed, according to the grant, a war with the Chera king does not appear to have been one of the foreign wars of Pallava.

* The lyric says that Karur, the Pandiya, and at Nenmeli the Chera were defeated. Hence I guess that at Mannaiyar the Chola was vanquished.

Malla Nandi Varman. Besides, the grant and the lyric do not agree in the name of the battle field. We have thus these discrepancies:—

In the grant the battle field mentioned is Nelveli, and the hero is Udayachandra;

In the lyric the battle field is Nenmeli, and the hero is the Pallava king himself.

Surely this does not show that the grant and the poem refer to the same event. Again it is patent from the grant that besides the war with the Pandya king, Udayachandra also waged war, on behalf of Nandi Varma, against Udayana, king of the Sabaras, and Prithiviviyāghra, king of Nishada. The latter was apparently a formidable war. Prithiviviyāghra had established his power in the north and was, in the language of the grant, 'marching in the track of the horse devoted to his horse-sacrifice (Aswamedha)'. Udayachandra not only arrested the advance of the Nishada king, but turned him back, pursued him into the territory of Vishnuraja, captured him prisoner and delivered him into the hands of Nandi Varma, together with much valuable spoil. If in Parameswara Viṇṇagara *patigam*, the Azhvar was singing the praise of Nandi Varman, is it possible that he would have ignored this most important campaign of his reign? The failure to make any mention of the war with Prithiviviyāghra affords almost incontestable proof that the Pallava king of Kanchi of whose glorious achievements the Azhvar sings in the *patigam* cannot be Nandi Varman. Perhaps I should state here that Pandit Raghava Aiyangar sees in the poem another reference also to Nandi Varman's martial achievements, and Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar thinks that this further reference is not unlikely. The Azhvar uses the expression தெம்பாழில் குன்றையில் தென்னவளை (stanza 5), which means 'the Pandya possessed of hill fortress (or fortresses) covered with groves overflowing with honey.' The expression குன்றையில் (kunreil) means 'hill fortress', and though it is the singular that is used, it will not be against poetic usage to hold that the singular includes the plural. The grant in question mentions among the achievements of Udayachandra, the razing of Kalidurga, which was under the protection of the goddess Kali Bhagavati; and we are asked to believe that when Tirumangai Mannan used the expression குன்றையில், he was referring to Kalidurga and its destruction! I can only say this is going to imagination for facts to support a preconceived theory.

If we examine the *patigam* itself, we will find that the Pallava king of Kanchi whom the Azhvar eulogizes was not a contemporary, but a monarch of ancient times who was a victorious warrior of renown and who by his high achievements had won undying glory, and universal fame. We may notice particularly the following expressions, which indicate his pre-eminent position as a monarch.

பல்வெங்கர் வணக்கமுல் பல்லவன் மல்லைப்போன். (Stanza 1.)

(The monarch Pallava Malla, at whose warrior-feet bow in submission many kings.)

செருவில் திறல்வாட்டிய தின்சிலையோன். (Stanza 2.)

(The great master of the bow who in war destroys the strength (of the foe.)
பார்மன்து பல்லவர்கோன். (Ibid.)

(The king of the Pallavas, who is honoured throughout the world).

செருவேல் வல்வகைப் பிடித்த படைத்திறல் பல்லவர்கோன். (Stanza 8.)

(The Pallava king who is a great warrior, wielding in his right hand the battle-spear).

மறமன்னர் மெடக்கெட்டல்போல் முழுங்கும் குறல் கடுவாய் பறையுடை பல்லவர்கோன்.
(Stanza 9.)

(The Pallava king, the loud resonance of whose war drum, resembling the roar of the sea, means death to unrighteous rulers).

பார்மன்து தொல் புகழ்ப் பல்லவர்கோன். (Stanza 10.)

(The Pallava king of ancient and lasting fame throughout the world).

Besides the last preceding quotation which speaks of his தொல்புகழ், ancient fame, the following passages may also be noted as establishing his antiquity.

செருவில் ஞஞ்ஜன் பரதவன் பல்லவர்கோன். (Stanza 3.)

செருவில் முனிர்தி பண்டொருகால் வளைத்தான். (Stanza 4.)

அந்து சென்றபாம்புகுடப்பல்லவன். (Stanza 5.)

I do not undertake to assert that the same Pallava king is extolled by Tirumangai Mannan in all the stanzas of this lyric. It may be that he refers to different Pallava monarchs; or it may be that all the references are to only one ruler. In either case, the language of the poem makes it clear that the Azhvar was not singing the praise of a contemporary monarch; and whoever the monarch or monarchs may be whose fame is sung in those lines, Nandi Varman, who as the grant itself discloses had sustained defeat in the field of battle at the hands of Chitramaya, and found himself virtually a prisoner at Anupura, and who, as historians tell us, was defeated at Kanchi itself by Dantidurga, and reduced by the latter to the position of a feudatory, can hardly be regarded as the subject of the Azhvar's paeon of praise.

I have considered in some detail the Ashtapujagara and the Parameswara Viṇḍhagara *patigams* and also the arguments and conclusion based thereon. I have tried to show that from neither of these two lyrics can we infer that Tirumangai Mannan was a contemporary of Nandi Varman or Dantidurga. The materials for deciding the date of that Azhvar have, in my humble view, yet to be gathered and sifted, and as yet no definite data have been discovered to justify the opinion that we should look for the Vaishnava saint in the eighth century of the Christian era.

MADDAGIRI PALEGARS.

BY R. RAMA RAO, ESQ., B.A.)

(*A Paper read before the Mythic Society.*)

1. The "droogs" or hill-fortresses form a special feature in the picturesque landscape of Mysore, and being used in former days as places of residence of the local rulers of the land in times of peace and strongholds of protection to the people around in times of war, they have played a very prominent part in the history of the State. Many a legend and tradition are entwined around their origin, *sthala-puranas* have been written about the temples thereon and their builders, and the narratives of the travellers and local chronicles are rich in reference to them. The remains of the fort walls, temples, store-houses of grain and other structures thereon silently proclaim their greatness. But writers on the history of Mysore have very little to tell us about the origin and growth of these interesting places, chiefly because it is extremely difficult to gather sufficient materials of a reliable nature for their history.

2. Among the more important of these fortified strongholds is Maddagiri-durga called also Madhugiri, the hill of honey, which is situated at a height of about 4000 feet above the level of the sea, a little to the south of the present town of Maddagiri, the head-quarters of a taluk in the Tumkur district. The hill on which the stronghold lies is a continuation of the north and south range,—which traverses the whole of the Taluk and on which are situated, in addition to Maddagiridurga, two other hill fortresses Channarayadurga to the south and Midigesi-durga to the north. "The view of Madhugiri, on approaching it from the east" says Buchanan, "is much finer than that of any hill-fort I have seen. The works here make a very conspicuous appearance, whereas in general they are scarcely visible, being hidden by the immensity of the rocks on which they are erected."* The Mysore Archaeological Report for the year 1918, contains the following description of the place. "The Maddagiri hill is one mass of rock strongly fortified. It has several *donés* or springs, such as Naviladi-done on the north slope, Bhimana-done on the south slope, Ittige-done on the hill, Chandra-done higher up and Navil-done on the top. Several of these are stepped with bricks. Above Chandra-done the ascent is very steep for some distance. It is said that the palace of the *palegar* was situated near this *doné*.

* Buchanan's Mysore, Canara and Malabar, Vol I, 250.

There are several gates leading to the top, such as Antaralada-bagilu, Diddi-bagilu, etc. The Mysore gate is to the south. On the top, is situated the Gopala Krishna temple which is now empty. Near it are the granary of *ragi* and the treasury. Grains of *ragi* are even now available for examination. The treasury appears to have had rows of big pots buried up to the neck close to the walls. There are likewise dome-like masonry structures with circular openings at the top for storing ghee and oil. Similar structures are also found lower down. They are called *Kanajas* in Kannada. The view from the top defies description; any number of hills and tanks meet our gaze on every side, the hills looking like little mounds and the tanks like small pools of water....."

3. The history of Maddagiridurga and the surrounding country is closely connected with that of the rest of the northern half of the State. Numerous inscriptions found in the land testify to the sovereignty exercised by the Gangas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Nolambas, Cholas, Hoysalas, and Vijayanagar kings in succession. The last named dynasty of rulers who first founded a kingdom in 1336 became, in course of years, so powerful that by the end of the fifteenth century nearly the whole of Southern India including Mysore was subject to their domination. The vastness of the empire over which they exercised their sway made it impossible for these kings to bring the whole under the direct rule of the central government at Vijayanagar. Moreover, there were in their empire large areas of land thickly overgrown with jungle and sparsely peopled. To bring such lands under cultivation, develop their resources and make them rich and populous, these kings wisely followed the policy of parcelling them out among vassal chiefs, bearing various titles, on the condition of payment of tribute and rendering of military service. The general name for such chiefs was *palegars* though each had a separate title. Thus the chiefs of Ikkeri and Chitaldoog were called *nāyaks*, the chiefs of Mysore and Kalale were called *odeyars*, and the chiefs of Bangalore were called *nāduprabhūs*. These chiefs were sometimes scions of the dispossessed royal families; but more often, however, they were of humble parentage, who had distinguished themselves in the service of the Vijayanagar kings either by valour in times of war or faithful devotion in times of peace. As soon as the lands were conferred upon them, these men would move to their new possession along with their family, retinue and belongings, import labourers from far and near, clear the jungle, build forts for protection, dig tanks and encourage ryots, artisans and traders to settle in them. Thus, in course of time, by the industry of the chief and his subjects, the land that was once uninhabitable would be converted into a territory flowing with milk and honey and teeming with a large population. These chiefs were

also patrons of letters and fine arts. Kannada poetry achieved much encouragement at their hands, rent-free lands were given to Brahmans and Jangama priests, temples were built or repaired. In course of time, they became very rich, and by frequent wars with their neighbours extended their territory, and came to rule over large areas of land as powerful kings nominally subject to Vijayanagar empire. Among such rulers, were the Maddagiri palegars also known as *Mahānāduprabhūs* of Maddagiri or Bijavara, a village about four miles from that town, who at the height of their power exercised their sway over a considerable part of the Tumkur district. The present paper aims at giving a history of this line of chiefs and is based to some extent on a Kannada manuscript entitled *Midigesi Kaifyat*, a transcript of which was prepared in the Archaeological Office three years ago. Though inaccurate in chronology and untrustworthy in some particulars, it still furnishes several details about the origin and growth of this line of chiefs and a careful collation of the information contained in the transcript together with that available from various other historical sources including inscriptions has enabled me to prepare this narrative.

4. Let us first study what the *Midigesi Kaifyat* has to say about the rise of the Maddagiri chiefs. At Sonnalapura (the present Sholapur in Bombay Presidency), during the rule of Siddaramesvara-devaru, there lived a family of seven brothers who had distinguished themselves in the king's service by their prowess. Their names were Virappagauda, Kalanagauda, Channappagauda, Kālachikkappagauda,—Rāmappagauda, Sangappagauda, and Hirichikkappagauda. One day the brothers were summoned to the king's presence, where they were received with due honour and a sword named *Nagaramari* was presented to them as a special mark of favour. After this, the king who was versed in the art of looking into the future told them that they were destined to become great rulers and directed them to start towards Vijayanagar, the emperor of which would bestow on them some kingdom one day. He also presented them with seven cart-loads of treasure. After taking leave of the king, the brothers started, full of hopes, towards Vijayanagar with their belongings, and on their way overcame a *rākshasa* known as Nonabasura who had in his previous birth been a Saiva devotee but was reduced to that condition owing to the curse of a Jangama priest whom he had insulted. This event had also been foretold by the ruler of Sonnalapura and the brothers were now fully assured that all his prophecy would prove true one day. They next proceeded to Vijayanagar, where after some delay, they succeeded in getting an audience of the emperor, who, pleased with their appearance and demeanour, conferred on them the posts of Cavalry Officers in his army. Shortly after, a Mussalman force marched from Delhi

under a general named Mallakhan on the city of Vijayanagar and invested the place. The emperor called on the brothers to help him in this crisis and they soon fell on the enemy, slew him, drove away his troops, and returned to their master laden with rich booty. Pleased with their valour and fidelity, the august sovereign of Vijayanagar presented them with rich clothes and jewellery and bestowed on them various honours, such as yellow flag, white umbrella, big and small kettle-drums, golden bracelets. He also granted them some lands in the south.

5. They now started towards the lands newly acquired in the south with all their followers and camp equipment. When they reached their destination and were encamped under a tent, the eldest brother Virappagauda was visited by a dream in which the god Nonabesvara appeared before him and directed him to take out his image which was lying under ground somewhere in the neighbourhood and set it up in a temple. This was done and in its proximity were discovered seven huge pots full of money. On another occasion the same god appeared before the gauda while asleep and laying a *kalasa* and twenty-one balls of sacred ashes, *vibhūti*, under his pillow and tying *lingams* to all the brothers commanded Virappagauda to build a temple for Lakshmi in the neighbourhood, set up the *kalasa* in it and worship the same as his family deity, to call himself and his descendants as Nonabas after the god, and to acknowledge as gurus two Virasaiva priests Siddalingesvāraswami and Balesvarasvami. When the gauda woke up, he related all this to his brothers and set to work to clear the jungle in the proximity. By and by a fort was built and a new town sprang up called Nonaba-sagara. He now obtained the permission of the Vijayanagar emperor to bring ryots, artisans, etc., from other parts and allow them to settle therein, after giving them all possible facilities. The brothers next came to a village called Tungoti whose inhabitants readily acknowledged their supremacy when they related their adventures. After this, they proceeded further and once more took to clearing the jungle and building new towns. In this way arose the town of Kora with a tank near by, and a temple was built for the goddess Lakshmi therein and the consecration ceremony celebrated with great splendour. Siddalingesvarasvami and Balesvarasvami now visited the brothers and were venerated as family priests by them. The brothers now separated, each building a new town for himself and settling therein. In this way arose Tereyur, Chavalu, Gubbi, Hosahalli, Ennegere, and Chelur-Bidare. But all the younger brothers had to acknowledge the supremacy of Virappagauda, who thus grew to be the ruler of a small principality.

6. After the death of Virappagauda, he was succeeded by his son Doddegauda who built a town called Mummadi-pattana. After him came his son

Mummadi-Chikkappagauda who greatly extended his territory. He was once directed in a dream by the goddess Bijamahādēvi (same as Vijayamahādēvi), to build a town in her name. While wandering in search of a suitable spot for the same, he saw the strange phenomenon of the hounds being pursued by hares and he at once built a town there and named it Bijavara. A temple was erected therein for the goddess Bijamahādēvi and another for Virabhadra. He also caused a tank to be dug near by and granted rent-free lands under it to Brahmins, Lingayet priests, artisans, etc. In course of time, another town arose to the west of it and called Siddapura. Here also a tank was constructed and five temples were erected, one being dedicated to each of the deities, Mahābhairava, Vrishabhēsvara, Ānjaneya, Virabhadra and Vighnēsvara. After this, while traversing the country around, he espied a hill to the south of Siddapur, which was well supplied by nature with abundant water and soon caused a fort to be built there and also a temple dedicated to Gopala-Krishna. The place was called Madhugiri now known as Maddagiri. Attached to it there arose several hamlets in the neighbourhood which soon grew rich and populous. The chief now became wealthy and powerful, ruling over a large population. But fate did not allow him to die a peaceful death. He had become an object of envy to the neighbouring chiefs and the palegar of Koratagere, a place about fifteen miles to south of Maddagiri, came with an army to besiege his capital and encamped at a village called Musuvankallu in the neighbourhood and challenged Mummadi Chikkappagauda to give him battle. The Maddagiri chief now sought the advice of his Lingayet gurus who after careful astrological calculations asked him to delay hostilities for a week as the time was not favourable. But the enemy determined to force battle and in order to taunt him, sent him as presents articles worn by women, such as saffron, glass bangles, etc. This was too much for the patience of Chikkappagauda who forthwith marched against the enemy and was slain in the battle by treachery. His brother, however, soon drove away the hostile force back to Koratagere and interning the remains of the slain chief, installed his son Mummadi Channappagauda in his place.

7. Having studied the account given in the Midigesi Kaifyat about the rise of the Maddagiri Chiefs, let us now see how far it can be corroborated by other historical sources and also determine the date when the events described above might have occurred. In the first place, it is to be noted that the chiefs belonged to the community of the Nonabas or Nonaba Vokkaligas. They are Lingayets by religion and are so named because they live chiefly in the Tumkur and Chitaldroog districts which roughly formed the ancient province of Nonanbavadi. According to the Kaifyat, the migration of the seven brothers occurred during the reign of Tirumala Raja at Vijayanagar in the

year Yuva corresponding to 1023 of the Śalivahana era, and the temple at Kora was built in the year Nala corresponding to 1064 of the same era. But the year corresponding to Śalivahana Śaka 1023 according to astronomical tables is Vishu and not Yuva and the Śaka year 1064 is Dundubhi, not Nala. Moreover either Śaka 1023 or 1101 A.D. is too early for the rise of Vijayanagar Empire. The dates are therefore obviously wrong. If the Tirumala-Raja referred to here is the same as the brother of the famous Rama Raja who died at Talikota in 1565, and who most probably ruled between 1567 and 1571, the migration of the brothers must have taken place about the middle of the sixteenth century. Certain records of the Tumkur district, mostly copper-plate grants (Pavagada 18, 72, etc.), also refer to similar migrations of gaudas to other parts of the same district. The dates found in them are also equally irregular and unreliable and Mr. Rice assigns those records to the beginning of the fifteenth century. With regard to Maddagiri chiefs, however, we have some stone-inscriptions which help us to determine their date to some extent. An inscription on a stone near the Basava temple at Siddapura, Maddagiri Taluk (Maddagiri 21), date in the year Śaka 1515 Vijaya corresponding to 1593 A.D., records that during the reign of Venkatapatiraya (I) at Vijayanagar, the mahānādu-prabhu Bijavara Chikkappa-gauda's son.

Immadi Chikkappagowda built a fort, set up the gods Vighnēswara, Virabhadra, Bhairava and others and built for them five temples. These acts are attributed in the Midigesi Kaifyat to Mummadī Chikkappagauda, son of Doddegauda. The word "Mummadī" means third in Kannada and from the above it appears highly probable that after Doddegauḍa, there were three rulers of the name of Chikkappagauda and the compiler of the Kaifyat, who lived long after the events had elapsed, has confused himself in recording the tradition and attributed the achievements of all the three Chikkappagaudas to Mummadī Chikkappagauda. We may therefore provisionally fix the founding of Bijavara to Chikkappagauda the first, the erection of a fort and five temples at Siddapura and the founding of Maddagiri to Chikkappagauda the second or Immadi Chikkappagauda and later events to Mummadī Chikkappagauda or Chikkappagauda the third. The migration of the brothers may have taken place in the middle of 16th century during the reign of Tirumalaraya at Vijayanagar.

Immadi Chikkappagauda was also reputed as a patron of Kannada learning. Two Virasaiva poets Virakta Tontadarya and Mallikarjuna wrote their works under his patronage. The latter has described him in his books as *Cholambheri-mandalikara-ganda* (lord of those chiefs who are entitled to a drum called Cholamberi), *Bijāvara-puradhistvara* (lord of the town of Bijavara), *Chikkabhūpālagarbhābdhi-chandrōdaya* (the moonlight to the sea, the

body of Chikkabhūpāla), *Srimad-Immadi-Chikkabhūpāla* (the auspicious Chikkabhupala the second.) This poet seems to have flourished at the close of sixteenth century according to "Kannada Kavicharite, Part 2" by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar (see page 314).

9. The same chief is also referred to in some more records. An epigraph at Jodi-Dasenahalli, Maddagiri Taluk (Maddagiri 8), records the name of Hirigauda, son of Immadi Chikkappagauda. But the date given, viz., 1686, appears to be too late for him. An inscription on the lintel of the door in the Sambhulingēsvara temple at Belakavadi, Malavalli taluk, dated in 1603 records its construction by Totadayya, son of Chikkappaguda of Bijjavara. In the Mysore Gazetteer of 1897, Volume II, page 190, the following account of the origin of Maddagiri is found. "The erection of the original fort and town is ascribed to a local chief named Raja Hiragauda. The circumstance of a stray sheep having returned from the hill dripping with wet led to the discovery that it was well supplied with springs of water. This being reported by the shepherds of the neighbouring village of Bijjavara, the advantages of the situation were so apparent that the town was established, and mud fortifications constructed on the hill for its protection". The Hira-Gauda referred to herein is evidently the same as the son of Immadi Chikkappagauda mentioned in the inscription at Joddidasenahalli quoted above.

10. With regard to Mummadī Chikkappagauda, we have an inscription near Bhimana-done on the south slope of Maddagiri-durga which states that Hanumana-done (now called Bhimana-done) was consecrated by Mummadī Chikkappagaudayya in the year Vijaya. The year Vijaya probably represents 1646. Another on the overhanging rock of a cave at the fort of Maddagiri-durga at some distance from Maddagiri tells us that Hiriyamma, consort of the *mahanādu-prabhu* Mummadī Chikkappa Gauda of Bijjavara, caused to be erected as a Sivadharma, a *virakta-maṭha* in the year Parābhava. It is probable that this maṭha is identical with the one now known as Gurrammana-maṭha. The year Parābhava may stand for 1606. A *sanad* found in the possession of one Nagalingachari at Koratagere refers to the battle with Raṇabhaira-gauda though it is irregular with regard to date and some minor particulars. (See page 56, Mysore Archaeological Report for 1918). From the records given above it appears highly probable that Immadi Chikkappagauda ruled at the end of the sixteenth century and his son Mummadī Chikkappagauda at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

11. Let us now proceed with the history of the Maddagiri chiefs from the time of Mummadī-Channappagauda. This chief too, like his ancestors, continued the policy of extending cultivation, building new towns, etc. During his rule the fort of Channarayadurga was built on a hill bearing that name to

the south of Maddagiri and a temple of Channarayaswami was erected therein. Several villages arose contiguous to it. Many temples and tanks constructed in former times and gone to ruins were repaired by the orders of this chief. After his death, succeeded to power his eldest son, Kālachikkappagauda. This chief appears to have driven away or reduced the power of his cousins who were ruling in the neighbourhood and whose power apparently had grown too dangerous for the ruler at Maddagiri to endure quietly. At this time, one Nāgareddi had built a fortress on Midigesi hill, eighteen miles to the north of Maddagiri and was ruling over a small territory around. According to the Midigesi Kaifyat, the town was newly built by Nāgareddi and named Midigesi after his wife (*midigesi* is a Kannada word meaning one whose hair reaches the heel and according to tradition this was an attribute of Nagareddi's wife.) But inscriptions dated in the early years of sixteenth century are found (Compare Maddagiri 106 and Goribidnur 77) which record grants from Vīra-narasimha, King of Vijayanagara, to gods and Brahmans at Midigesi. Nāgareddi therefore could only have built the fort and enlarged the town and the supposed origin of the name Midigesi is a later invention. Tradition also attributes to him the erection of a temple dedicated to Venkataramaṇaśvami in the fort and of a palace near it. A figure on a wall of the *prākāra* of the temple about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, standing with folded hands, is even now said to represent him. Naturally the growth of a powerful principality so near to his own excited the jealousy of Kālachikkappagauda. Once, while building a tank at Avara-kallu, Nāgareddi was encountered by the Maddagiri chief and hot words passed between them. Soon Kālachikkappagauda wrote to the Emperor at Vijayanagar representing that Nāgareddi was plundering the lands in the neighbourhood and with his permission fell upon him, drove him away and annexed his principality. Several new villages sprang up at this time and the chief ruled over a territory bringing an income of 95,000 varahas. During his reign, Sivanegauda, *patel* of Midigesi, built the temple of Mallesvara in that town, richly endowed it and rewarded the bard Bhataraju Narasaraju for his ability to compose verses by ordering that all members of the 48 *gōtras*, should give him one *hānu* and one seer of rice during the marriage ceremony in their families. After this time the chief of Sira, Rangapparaja was killed in a fight by an adventurer called Puvvala Kenga who also wanted to exterminate all the scions of the royal family and rule the territory undisturbed. The infant son of the slain chief had been left by his father under the protection of Kālachikkappagauda and the latter refused to surrender him to the enemy. This ended in a fracas in which the life of the adventurer was cut short. The Maddagiri chief now became the guardian and virtual ruler of Sira kingdom also though the infant King was the nominal sovereign.

12. Kālachikappagauda was succeeded by Mummadī Hirē Virappagauda. The infant son of the chief of Sira now grew up into manhood and was named Kasturi Rayapparaja. He was however entirely subservient to the ruler of Maddagiri. The rapid rise to power of the Gaudas at Maddagiri created many enemies to them at the court of Vijayanagar, and the Emperor thereof listening to the slanderous tales of such men summoned Mummadī Hirē Virappagauda to his presence with the idea of inflicting condign punishment on him. But the wary chief did not move from his fort in response to the summons. The emperor therefore marched with a large army against him and encamped in the dry bund of the tank at Siddapura. The chief now thought of a plan to impress him with his power, and at night, while he was asleep, had him carried away with the help of some hirelings, along with the cot on which he lay, from his tent, unobserved by his army and deposited him in the Gopala Krishna temple on the Maddagiri hill which had been previously prepared for his reception. When the emperor awoke in the morning, he found himself in a strange place and after learning the history of the chief forgave him and presenting rich rewards to him returned to his capital. It is however difficult to say which emperor this tale refers to.

13. After the death of this chief his son Mummadī Sangappagauda succeeded to power. There was nothing very remarkable during his rule and after him came his son Totadarayagauda to the *gadi*. The Nayaks of Bidnur were at this time very rich and powerful and Budi Basappa Nayaka who was now the ruler thereof imprisoned certain merchants passing to the West coast on the plea that they had behaved dishonestly and refused to liberate them. Their agents appealed to the neighbouring rulers, but they all turned a deaf ear to their tale of woe. At last one of them approached the generous chief of Maddagiri, who at once threatened the Nayak of Bidnur that, if he did not liberate them, his territory would be immediately attacked. The threat had the desired effect and the traders at last got free and thanked their deliverer most heartily.

14. His successor was his son Śakappagauda. By this time Kasturi-Rayapparaja of Sira and his son Sarjabhupala were dead and Rangapparaja the son of the latter ruled Sira subject to the chief of Maddagiri. Śakappagauda's successor was Sappegauda. This rule was disturbed by the conquest of Sira by the Mahrattas. The Ghorpades, chiefs of the famous fortress Gutti to the north of the Mysore State now rose into power and repeatedly invaded Sira. However, Sappegauda was able to withstand their attacks and drive them away. After his death ruled his son Dodda Kannaiyagauda. Rangapparaja of Sira died soon after, leaving two minor sons Krishnapparaja and Venkataśāmaraja. The time seemed favourable for the Mahrathas to attack

the province of Sira once again and Dodda Kannaiyagauda, could not oppose them single-handed and had to allow that province to be taken by the enemy. Nor was this all. The brothers Krishnapparaja and Venkatasamaraja were now left without any territory and when they grew to manhood plundered the neighbouring lands. The ruler of Maddagiri therefore waited for an opportunity to get rid of them. Shortly after, the chief of Koratagere named Ranabhairegauda invaded Maddagiri and the brothers were sent against him. They succeeded in killing him and driving away his army. But while they were returning victorious, the elder brother was murdered by the followers of Dodda Kannaiyagauda and the younger one fled to the Raja of Mysore for protection. There he was treated with kindness and was given a command in the army. But shortly after, he was suspected of taking presents from a hostile female ruler named Narayanasami and afraid of punishment ran back to Maddagiri and took shelter under the Gauda of Hunjanalu who was a nephew of Dodda Kannaiyagauda. After the trouble, he was given, at the intercession of the mother and step-mother of Dodda Kannaiya Gauda, a small *jaghir* to the west of Midigesi.

15. After the death of Dodda Kannaiyagauda, his son named Chikkappagauda succeeded to power. He ruled for some time over Maddagiri, and Midigesi and Channarayadurga and then died leaving two sons Ramappagauda and Timmappagauda. The two brothers quarrelled very soon and Timmappagauda sought the help of the Raja of Mysore. At this period, Mysore was ruled by the famous Chikkadeva Raja Odeyar (1672—1709) who was extending his territory greatly at the expense of minor chiefs and the Mahrathas. Soon Ramappagauda was defeated by the Mysore General, Dalavayi Devaraja and both the brothers were taken prisoners to Seringapatam and placed in confinement. Their principality was annexed to Mysore. The palace history of Mysore known as "Mysore Maharaja Vamsavali" records that Chikkadeva Raja Odeyar of Mysore took Koratigeri, Maddagiri, Channarayadurga and Midigesi in 1678 and punished the chiefs who came to the help of Maddagiri ruler by cutting off their noses. A copper-plate grant of this king, dated in 1679, states that he took Midigesi, Bijjvara and Channarayadurga and captured Timmappagauda and Ramappagauda. (Seringapatam 151). According to the Mysore Gazetteer of 1897 (Volume II, p. 190), these brothers were released soon after and sent back to Midigesi, which was left to them out of their lost possessions. The Midigesi Kaifyat, on the other hand, states that the brothers died in confinement and Hire Viregauda son of Ramappagauda escaped with his family from Seringapatam and recovered Midigesi. Even the possession of this small principality did not last long. After the death of Hire Viregauda

and his son Mummadi Totada Rayagauda, there was no strong ruler to combat the forces of Mysore, and Mallarajaiya a general of the Mysore Raja who was stationed at Maddagiri took this opportunity to capture Midigesi also ; Mummadi Dodda Kannappagauda, the minor son of the last chief, was however allowed a small Jaghir at Tereyur for his expenses. According to the palace history of Mysore this might have occurred in 1711. (P. 157.)

16. Thus disappeared the possessions of the Maddagiri chiefs. We have learnt from inscriptions that Immadi Chikkappagauda founded that town about the end of the fifteenth century and his son Mummadi Chikkappagauda ruled over the surrounding territory in the early part of the seventeenth century, perhaps so late as 1646. Within thirty-two years after his reign, ten chiefs seem to have ruled in succession over the principality according to Midigesi Kaifyat. It is difficult to believe that their reigns were on the average so short. It seems probable that some of the names included are of those who did not actually reign but administered parts of the territory during the life time of their fathers. Moreover the Kannada word meaning son is loosely used among the people in this country and includes brother's son also. During this period, the Vijayanagar Empire had disappeared, the Mussalman nawabs of Bijapur had occupied Sira and the adjacent territory and the Rajas of Mysore were rapidly advancing from the south. The Kaifyat however mentions that Sira was taken by the Mahrattas of Gutti and does not allude to the Mussalman occupation of it. The reason for this appears to lie in the fact that a large number of Mahratta generals were enlisted in the service of the Bijapur State and the writer of the Kaifyat or the papers on which it was based, therefore ascribed its invasion to them.

17. Let us now follow the melancholy history of Mummadi Dodda-kannappagauda and his descendants. When the former grew into manhood he took service under Haidar and soon distinguished himself by his prowess. The fortifications of Maddagiri were greatly increased by Haidar and the place became the seat of a valuable trade. Hither, in 1763, on the conquest of Bidnur, he sent as prisoners both Rani Verammaji and her lover, and here they remained until the capture of the place by the Mahrattas in 1767. It was however recovered seven years after in 1774. Haidar seems to have given some encouragement to Dodda Kannappagauda and restituted part of his lost possessions. After his death, his son Channabasappagauda, succeeded to power. During the Third Mysore War, the Mahrattas as allies of the British, captured Maddagiri and plundered the town. At the same time Channabasappagauda sought the help of the English and under their protection laid siege to Midigesi in 1791 and captured it together with some adjacent territory. But the Treaty of Seringapatam soon

ended the war and the district of Maddagiri was restored to Tippu who soon sent his general Kamaruddin with a large force to reoccupy the lost possessions. Confronted by this army, Channabasappa Gauda departed from the territory he had newly acquired, carrying off as much wealth from it as possible, and sought shelter in the neighbouring British districts. Before seven years had elapsed, war again broke out between the British and Tippu in 1799 and another opportunity presented itself for the Gauda to recover his ancestral estates. He soon repaired to Krishnagiri and applied for aid to the general stationed there, Lieutenant-Colonel Read who, according to Wilks, "exercised the civil and military authority in the province of Baramahal and was destined to collect, arrange and eventually escort further supplies of provisions to the army in advance." (Wilks' History of Mysore, Vol. II, page 345). Read promised to lay the case before the Commander-in-Chief, General Harris, and to procure a *tahanama* or treaty fixing the terms on which the British would help him. At the same time, the Gauda was directed to repair in advance to his lost possessions and make such preparations as he could to recover them. He was further directed to send the British army such supplies as he could procure. Accordingly the Gauda started towards Maddagiri and received on the way a *tahanama* from the British promising him support. But before he could reconquer his ancestral estates, news reached him that the war was over, Tippu slain, and Mysore constituted into a protected state under Krishnaraja Wodeyar III. He was now directed to leave his place and see Read at Bangalore. He obeyed the order and was asked to send his *vakils* to Madras to lay his claims before the British Government. Two *vakils* were sent accordingly to Madras but when they reached the place they discovered, to their dismay, that Read had departed for England and there seemed no chance of recovering the lost possessions. They therefore returned soon after and the disappointed Gauda died in 1802. His nephew appears to have presented a petition to the Maharaja of Mysore and the British Government setting forth his ancestry and praying for the grant of some land or pension in consideration of family claims and it is in this connection that the document known as Midigesi Kaifyat or *Rayarakha* was drawn up. A descendant of the Maddagiri chiefs is said to be now living at Sambhuvanahalli near Maddagiri.

REFLECTIONS FROM VISVAGUNĀDĀRSĀ.

(BY K. KRISHNAMACHARYA, B.A., M.R.A.S.)

IN the field of Classical Sanskrit literature, Visvaguṇādarsa of Venkatādhwari stands unique in its conception. The plan of the work is original and does not tread the beaten track. It has a happy admixture of prose and poetry, and is generally classified under Champu Prabandhās. It is not a story of a great hero or a heroine, mythical or historical ; nor are there the usual Stabakās, Guchchās or Āswasās, as in ordinary Champu Prabandhās. It is a continuous whole, with much of happy variety, the continuity being determined, not by a central figure, but by an extraneous element, which does not itself enter into the subject matter. In a word, it is a record of observations of the author, in the course of a long pilgrimage throughout India ; and it is a record some centuries old.

In the introductory stanzas the author speaks of himself as the grandson of Appaya Guru, a nephew (sister's son) of Thāthārya, the preceptor of the king of Karnāta. A commentary of the work identifies this king with Sri Krishna Raya. Now, the kings of Vijayanagar are known to be Vaishnavites in faith ; and one of them, Venkatapathi Raya, is reported to have been a *Sishya* of the famous Kōtikanyakādānam Thāthāchārya. That the Thāthārya of the Viswaguṇādarsa, who was *diganta-kāntayāsāh* (world-famous), is identical with the Kotikanyakādānam Thāthāchārya there can be no doubt. The identification of the commentator may, therefore, be put down as ~~not~~ quite acceptable historically ; and the "Karnāta Bhūbhrit" of our author must only refer to Venkatapathi Raya. Venkatādhwari may hence be put down to something less than about a century and a quarter after that illustrious ruler, taking on an average thirty years for a generation. It may be taken for certain that Venkatapathi Raya flourished about the end of the earlier half of the sixteenth century.

Again, we have it on authority that, in the village of Arasānipala, near Conjeevaram, there are a few families of the descendants of Venkatādhwari, and some young men therein, of over twenty-five years of age, claim to be the eighth in descent from him. Tracing back into the past we may roughly estimate that our author must have lived about two centuries and a quarter ago. Thus for the purpose of our article we may take it that he must have belonged to the latter half of the seventeenth century ; and his Viswagunādarsa is therefore a record of the times when the Mogul Emperor Aurangazib

Was reigning at Delhi, amidst ominous misgivings that his empire was tottering under his very throne, and when the great Mahratta hero Sivaji was laying the foundations of his Empire in the south.

Visvaguṇādarsa is not the only work of the author ; but we are not at present concerned with all his works. We may however remark in passing that his " Lakshmi Sahasram " deserves a prominent mention.

The observations recorded in Visvaguṇādarsa are mostly socio-religious, and partly political also. Though the whole of India comes into view, it is the Southern India that claims the major part of the attention of the author. The Eastern, the North-eastern, the Western parts of the country do not receive any attention at all.

As we have already stated, the plan of the work is simple, though original. Two Gandharvas, Krisānu and Visvāvasu, undertake a pleasure drive in their Vimānas, and pass through the several notable places in the land. As they pass, they indulge in a lively discussion of the things they see. Krisānu has a critical eye and is a shrewder observer than Visvāvasu ; and as such he is struck more with the defects than with the merits of the things he observes. But his friend is tolerant to a fault, and sees something praiseworthy in whatever he sets his eyes upon. While Krisānu is humourously pessimistic, Visvāvasu is seriously optimistic. For our purpose, Krisānu is the surer guide of the two ; but we do not mean thereby that we shall not avail ourselves of the good services of Visvāvasu.

" With the sunrise, our Gandharva friends start on their aerial drive from Badarināth. They come down the Ganges, cross Ayōdhya on their way to Benares, and turn to Brindāvan. Thence they pass through the Ghūrjara, the Mahārāshtra, the Āndhra, and the Karnāta embracing a major part of the present Mysore. They do not forget Seshāchalam, Sholinger, Trivellore, Srīperumbūdūr and Triplicane. At Kānchi they spend a particularly long time visiting every blessed shrine of importance, Vaishnavite and Saivite. They take a special pride in paying a visit to the modest agraharam of Arastāpalai, off Kānchi, the very birth place of our Venkatādhwari ! Thence they return further south, and visit Kumbaghōnam, Srirangam, and Sri Rama's Sethu. To Kurukāpuri they pay their homage, as the abode of the holiest of holies, Sri Satakōpamuni.

Finally, before they take leave of our blessed earth, Visvāvasu assures Krisānu that life in this planet does not after all deserve a condemnation, even in the age of Kali, since it is not devoid of attractions, in the midst of its countless disappointments.

Though it is not possible to present within the space of an article a detailed account of a vast field covered by the author, an attempt is made here

to touch upon some of the salient points that generally attract the attention of a casual reader. To a stranger desirous of studying some of the aspects of Indian life with its apparent heterogeneity, Visvagunādarsa is of inestimable value, though it purports to be only a humorous piece. The observations recorded here refer to some centuries past, yet there is very little of substantial difference between them and what we see around us to-day.

Venkatādhwari, rather we must say Krisānu, is struck with the seemingly defective side of Āchāra (the socio-religious observances) of the people of the Northern India, as against those prevailing in the Southern India. The *Sevavritti* of the Brahmins, and the consequent laxity in their socio-religious observances, have their own share of condemnation at the hands of Krisānu. He does not approve their indifference to *drishti-dosha* in the matter of meals nor of their neglect of the mutual untouchability of individuals, as practised in the south.

Visvāvasu, on the other hand, recognises something good in their life. He is not blind to their sacrifices for the sake of the motherland, by way of accepting services under foreign kings, even under humiliating conditions, and thereby controlling the political machinery for the good of the people. A laxity in observing one's own caste principles and practices does not matter much, in the eyes of Visvāvasu, when one is engaged in an unselfish service of one's own fellow-caste countrymen. That the people of the north strictly avoid *paryushitannam* (the food a day after it is cooked) unlike those of the extreme south, does not escape his attention.

For the Ghūrjaras, Visvāvasu has nothing but a whole-hearted admiration. Their love of commerce, and their trade in precious gems are highly commended. He is not probably aware of the economic aspect of the trade in gems from the point of view of India. The somewhat painful effect, on the young wives of the traders, of the inevitable absence of their lords on commercial intent, for years together, is sympathetically touched upon. Our friend has no patience with those effeminate creatures who refuse to stir out of their circumscribed corners. He has an invaluable lesson on the experiences of distant travels.

The warlike spirit of the Mahārāshtras has its rightful share of the critical eye of our Gandharva youths. Side by side with the men who have a shallow knowledge of the branches they profess, but who are at the same time unduly revered by an ignorant populace as though they are heaven-born intellectuals, the presence of the sincere and warlike patriots of all castes, even including the Brahmin, has its just and discriminating recognition. But for the bravery of the Mahārāshtra army, under the leadership of its Brahmin commanders, the country cannot have been safe for the people and

thereby for Brahmanya—says Visvāvasu. He goes further and asserts that the destructive actions of an army on its expeditions against the foes of the land, the Mlēchhas, are to be tolerated in consideration of the good services it renders to the country, by freeing it from its aggressive foe; even as the unpalatable savour of a royal medicine intended to rescue the patient from a deadly disease. He has even a good word to say of the manly spirit of the Mlēchha army.

The profession of the average Brahmin in the Āndhradesa, as a karnam or a petty clerk under rich landlords of other castes, has no attraction for Krisānu, and he therefore indulges in a denunciation of the country. But his friend Visvāvasu does not trouble himself about this, and readily finds a word of praise for the land, in that it enjoys a glorious possession by way of the symmetrical type of the average Āndhra woman, as of the exquisite and delicate type of the Ghūrjara woman.

The sight of the beautiful gardens of palms in almost every town and village in the Karnāta sets Visvāvasu's imagination aglow, and makes him poetic to a degree. But Krisānu does not care for the natural beauty, since he feels he can give no quarter to the *Pāshandās* that roam about the country. He speaks of a peculiar custom among them—peculiar in that they bathe the head of Siva's image in the waters poured over their own feet!

On the borders of the Karnāta, Krisānu speaks of a people, "monkey-like" (Keesa-kalpa), whom he does not hesitate to characterise as *Vrātyās*, because of the indiscriminating treatment they mete out to the learned and the ignorant alike. Whom he refers to is not possible of a guess ; and a guess at this distance of time is in no way profitable. Here is perhaps a reminiscence of the author's own experience in these parts.

Their next place of visit is Rajapapeetapuri, the home of Ānanda Thirtha, the revered exponent of the Dwaita Philosophy. Krisānu has not much fascination for the system of Ānanda Thirtha, and confines himself to a searching criticism of the practices of the sanyasins of the particular sect to which the great teacher belongs. He expresses his strong disapproval of their discarding Sikha, Yajñōpavita, and Gāyatri—the prime requisites for a Brahmin. But Visvāvasu turns to a different side, and sees every reason for an unqualified appreciation of the sterling practices of this sect, especially in connection with Ekādasi, the day consecrated to Vishnu. The complete fasting scrupulously observed by every man, woman, and child, and the supreme devotion to Vishnu elicit his admiration.

The several places of pilgrimage in Southern India come within the purview of the Gandharvas, and every one of them gets through the furnace of Krisānu's scathing criticism. The Tirupati God is put down for a merci-

less usurer, that sucks the very life blood of his devotees, by extracting from them his overdue accounts with a compound interest. Narasimha of Sholingher, Vīrarāghava of Tiruvallore, and Pārthasāradhi of Triplicane receive but a milder treatment than the one meted out to Vēnakatēswara of Tirupati.

At Srīperumbēdur, the home of Rāmānuja, the predominance of the Thengalai sect of the Vaishnavās reminds Krisānu of the several differences in the religious faiths and observances between this sect and its sister Vadagali sect. Its particular partiality to the Tamil Prabandams in preference to the Sanskrit Vedas, its non-acceptance of prominence to Lakshmi, the concert of the Supreme Lord, its neglect of certain rituals known as *Panchayajnas*, its discarding of certain ceremonies as *kāmyās* (*i.e.*, those intended for material prosperity in this world, as against spiritual advancement) its indifference to bathing in the waters of the Ganges, and those of the sea, are handled with a touch of lively humour.

But Visvāvasu thinks of this sect in a different light. The democratic spirit and the lofty ideals of its members do not pass unrecognised.

Incidentally Krisānu hits upon the seemingly incongruous practices of the sanyāsins who happen to be the Heads of the various religious Mutts. Their luxurious ways of life do not commend themselves to him. He will have nothing to do with their kingly paraphernalia. But Visvāvasu does not see much of wrong therein; on the other hand, he upholds their luxury as a real necessity for the itinerant life of such sanyāsins consecrated for the propagation of their faith.

The European settlers at Madras are spoken of as not caring a straw for the Brahmin. It is really gratifying to learn that the western friends of those days had an enviable reputation for their love of truth, their partiality to justice, and their skill in the manufacture of "wonderful" articles.

In the course of paying respectful homages to the various Gods and Goddesses of importance at Kanchi, our Gandharva friends come upon Deepaprakāsa, and thereby upon Vēdāntha Dēsika, enshrined near him. Here they fall into a discussion of the philosophical system and Vedic rituals upheld by the saintly scholar. Krisānu cannot conceive how people could follow his lead, when he enjoins upon a scrupulous observance of every blessed ritual, giving up the royal road of the least resistance, followed by the rival sect. But the only answer of Visvāvasu is that the advice offered to a patient in the matter of his diet must necessarily be unpalatable.

At the sight of the fortress of Gingee, Krisānu falls into a rage against kings in general, and condemns them for their avarice which knows no law, and which leads them very often to battle fields, even at the cost of their own life with all its channels of pleasure. But Visvāvasu only reminds

Krisanu that the so-called misdeeds of kings on which he has been expatiating are, after all, their manly virtues deserving commendation.

While at Srīrangam, Krisānu is reminded of the unholy life of the servants of the temples in general. He wonders if there can be sanctity at all in the idol worshipped by men, whose private life cannot, with any show of decorum, be described as decent. He does not tolerate the nefarious practice of putting the temple *prāsādāms* on sale. But Visvāvasu assures him that mountains of sin are swallowed up by the only virtue of a life dedicated to the service of God. With all the oratorical skill of Visvāvasu we confess we are unconvinced, and record our vote in favour of Krisānu.

The predominance of the Adwaitins in the countries of Chōla and Pāndya does naturally lead them to an estimation of the *pros* and *cons* of Sankara's philosophy. The abstruse intellectual system of the great philosopher does not command much favour at the hands of Krisānu—at any rate as much as the more humanistic system of Rāmānuja. But Visvāvasu does not concern himself with the philosophy, but with the rule of conduct in the daily life of the followers of that system, which duly recognises the importance of the Vedic rituals, special and general.

About the end of their trip, the celestial companions meet with men of all creeds and professions and indulge in an estimate of their respective merits and demerits. Men professing every branch of knowledge like Astrology, Medicine, Logic, Grammar, etc., have their share of criticism, for and against, at the hands of our divine critics.

Thus a vast field is covered by our heroes within the space of the author's thousand and odd pieces of prose and poetry. With the day's end, the aerial drive comes to a close, and the Gandharvas retire from our view, with a word of benediction for us of the Earth.

BHASA'S PRATIMANATAKAM.

By K. RAMA PISHAROTI, ESQ., M.A. (Hons.).

The College, Ernakulam.

ACT I.

(Then at the end of music enter the Stage-Manager).

Stage Manager :

Rama who is the cause of Sita's prosperity, who is pleased with good counsel, who has a beautiful neck, who is the enemy of Ravana, who is unrivalled, and who has a heart above fear, may be accompanied by Sita and Lakshmana, and Bharatha protect you in your successive births. (1)

(Turning to the postscenium)

Madam, this way, here.

(Entering.)

Nati—Lord, here am I.

Stage-Manager—Madam, sing me a song on this autumn season.

Nati—Lord, as you please (sings).

Stage-Manager—in this season, indeed,

'The swan, exceedingly happy, is sauntering in the sand banks, clothed in the pollen of flowers'.

(In the postscenium)

O Lord, O Lord.

(Listening)

Stage-Manager—Well, I know it,

'hastening like the happy portress at court, dressed in clothes white as the Kāsā flower.'

(Exeunt)

Prologue.

(Entering) (2)

Portress—Sirs, who is here among the chamberlains?

(Entering)

Chamberlain—Madam, I am here. What's to be done?

Portress—Sir, King Daśaratha, the soldier of *Great Chariot*, who never beat a retreat even in the conflict of the Devas and the Asuras, commands—
'Make in all haste the preparations for the coronation of Prince Rama, which will bring him in contact with the greatness of sovereignty.'

Chamberlain—Madam, His Majesty's commands have all been carried out. See,

'the great umbrella with the *chowries*, the martial music, the Coronation Chair, are all ready ; the golden pots, filled with consecrated waters and darbha grass and flowers are arranged ; the State Carriage is ready ; the citizens with the ministers are assembled ; and Vasishta, the lord of everything auspicious, stands at the sacred place.'

Portress—If so, well done.

Chamberlain—Ah, good.

Now has been made the fulfilment of the desires of the people by the king who crowns the moon of the earth, Rama by name.

Portress—Hasten, now, hasten, worthy Sir.

Chamberlain—Madam, I am gone (Exit.)

Portress—(Wandering about and looking) Sir, Sambhavaka, Sambhavaka, go thou and on the words of the majesty, hasten the family preceptor with due ceremonies (going in another direction) Sarasike, here, Sarasike, go to the concert room and tell the actors that they must be ready with a drama suitable to the occasion. I shall also go and inform his Majesty that everything is ready (Exit).

(Then enter Avadātika carrying a bark-garment.) (3)

Avadātika—Ah me, what rashness ! Carrying away this bark-garment for a joke, I experience so much fear. How much more then should it be, when done out of greed ? (4) I wish to laugh, but all alone I cannot laugh.

(Then enter Sita with her maids.)

Sita—Friend, there is something in the looks of Avadātika : What can it be ? (5)

Maid—Princess, many are the faults of attendants. There must be some faults.

Sita—No, No, she seems as if about to laugh.

Avadātika—(approaching) Long life to princess. Princess, I have, indeed, done no fault.

Sita—Whoever asked you ? Avadātika, what is it thy left hand carries.

Avadātika—Princess, this a bark-dress.

Sita—Whence is this bark-garment brought ?

Avadātika—Listen, princess. Lady Rēva, the mistress of the concert-room, was requested by us to give us one sprout of the Asoka-tree, when its use was over on the stage ; but she did not give. She deserves to be punished and so was this taken away.

Sita—Sinful is thy act. Go and return it. (6)

Avadātika—Princess, I have taken it only to make fun of him.

Sita—Silly girl, thus the sin only increases. Go and return it.

Avadātika—As my princess orders (starts to go).

Sita—Here, for a moment, friend.

Avadātika—Here am I, O! princess.

Sita—Friend, will this sit on me well ? (7)

Avadātika—Everything enhances the beauty of a good form. Deck yourself in it, princess.

Sita—Bring, then (receiving and dressing), Friend, see if it suits me.

Avadātika—Indeed, it suits you well. The bark garment appears now golden.

Sita—Friend, why dost thou not speak ?

Maid—Speech is not necessary. This my glad hair bespeak it. (Shows the hair standing on end).

Sita—Friend, get me a mirror.

Maid—As my princess orders (going out and entering) Princess, here is the mirror.

Sita—(Looking at her maid's face) let alone the mirror, thou seemest to have something to speak.

Maid—Princess, this I did hear—the worthy chamberlain, Bālaki, muttering,—'Coronation, coronation'. (8)

Sita—Somebody will be the lord in the country.

(Entering another)

Maid—Princess, good news, good news.

Sita—What's it, what's it thou art muttering ?

Maid—The dear prince is indeed to be crowned.

Sita—Is not my father well ?

Maid—By his majesty himself is he to be crowned.

Sita—if so, then is it, indeed, good news, make your lap very wide.

Maid—Even so, princess (does so)

Sita—(Takes off the Jewels and gives). (9)

Maid—Princess, is this martial music ?

Sita—It is.

Maid—Struck once, it has become silent.

Sita—Can this be an obstruction for the coronation. Or, indeed, varying is the course of events in a Court. (10)

Maid—Princess, this have I heard—Having crowned the prince, His Majesty will go to the forest.

Sita—if so, then it is not coronation, but tears.

(Then enter Rama) (11)

Rama—Ah! Ho! When the music was begun, when the preceptors were ready, when I sat on the royal seat, when the pots were raised shoulder high to pour their contents on my lowered head to the accompaniment of the chanting of hymns, when I was called at this moment and sent away, the people became struck with wonder at my composure. If the son carries out the words of his father, what wonder, ho!, can indeed be there. When I was sent away by my father saying 'go and rest now', my mind heaved a sigh of relief, as when a burden is removed. Thank God, I am still Rama, and the king is himself the king. I shall now see *Maithili*.

Avadātika—Princess, the prince is coming. The bark garment is not removed.

Rama—Maithili, what art thou at ?

Sita—Hem, My lord ! Long life, my lord.

Rama—Maithili, Sit down, sit.

Sita—As my lord orders (sits).

Avadātika (to Sita aside) Princess, this is the prince's attire. Can that be false ?

Sita—Such people never utter a falsehood. Or, indeed, varying is the course of events at courts.

Rama—Maithili, what is it thou speakest ?

Sita—Nothing indeed. This girl says coronation, coronation.

Rama—I can understand your curiosity. There is coronation. Listen: (12) The king who is the epitome of the kingdom of Kosala sat me in his lap, where I have oft sat in my youth ; and in the presence of the preceptors, ministers, and people, lovingly called me after my mother's name and this day addressed me thus :—' Dear child, Rama, 'Receive the Kingdom'.

Sita—What, then, did my lord say ?

Rama—Maithili, what thinkest thou ?

Sita—I think that without speaking anything you must have fallen, sighing deeply, at the feet of his majesty.

Rama—well guessed ! Few, indeed, are the pairs of similar temperaments created. Then, indeed, did I fall at his feet.

' By our tears falling simultaneously, his above and mine below, my father's feet were drenched and my head also was drenched.'

Sita—Then, then.

Rama—Then, when his requests were unheeded, was I cursed with his aged life.

Sita—Then, then.

Rama—Then at that time. (13).

When Satrughna and Lakshmana were holding the pots for the coronation, when the weeping king himself was holding the umbrella, something was slowly spoken in the ears of the king by the wild Manthara, and I am not a king.

Sita—I like it. The king is himself the king and my lord remains my lord (14).

Rama—Maithili, why art thou devoid of jewels?

Sita—I have not put them on.

Rama—No, indeed. The ornaments must have been recently removed. For, ‘The ears are ruffled by the quick removal of the ear-rings; the hands are red by the quick removal of the ornaments; and the various parts of the body, pressed down by the weight of the ornaments, have not yet regained their original position’.

Sita—Thou art, my lord, capable of giving the colour of truth even to falsehood.

Rama—Well then, put them on. I shall hold the mirror. (Doing thus and looking). Wait.

‘What’s in the mirror—bark garments or the rays of the sun? I know from your smile that this love of asceticism is but mere frolic. Avadātika—what is this?

Avadātika—My lord, these are put on out of curiosity to know whether they sit well or not.

Rama—Maithili, why is this worn by you, this the ornament of the aged Ikshvaku Kings? Well, I am pleased with it. Bring.

Sita—Speak not, speak not, my lord, such inauspicious things.

Rama—Maithili, why preventest thou?

Sita—Me seems, it is ominous for thee, my lord, who hast been deprived of the coronation.

Rama—‘Enough of these ominous words, especially in an affair of mere jest, the more so because this has been first put on by my better half.’
(In the postscenium)

Alas, alas, His Majesty!

Sita—my lord, what may this be?

Rama—(listening)

‘When there is a continuous wail of men and women, a blow, it is clear, has been struck at the root, by God in his omnipotence.’

Hasten and know what the sound is. (Entering)

Chamberlain—Help, help, O prince.

Rama—Sir, who is to be helped?

Chamberlain—His majesty the King.

Rama—Sayest thou the King ? Sir, say, then, the earth, epitomised in one body, is to be protected. Well, whence is this mischief ?

Chamberlain—From one's own people.

Rama—Sayst thou one's own people ? Alas, there is no remedy.

'The enemy strikes at the body ; similarly one's own people strike at the heart. Which name amongst my kinsmen is to be a thing of shame for me ?'

Chamberlain—Of the worthy lady, Kaikeyi.

Rama—What, my mother's ? Then, indeed, must it necessarily end in good.

Chamberlain—Why so ?

Rama—Listen,

'She who has a husband, the equal of Indra, who is a mother with a son in me, what shall she be hankering after, that she must do a wicked deed ? (16).

Chamberlain—Enough, prince, enough of attributing your straightforwardness to the accursed minds of women. Why, it is because of her words that your coronation was prevented.

Rama—Sir, and there are, indeed, good results in it.

Chamberlain—How so ?

Rama—Listen.

There is the prevention of the king going to the forest ; the self-same remains my boyhood under my father's care ; the people have no anxiety consequent on a new king's policy ; and lastly my brothers are not deprived of their round of enjoyments.

Chamberlain—And further, uninvited she approached and said, 'crown Bharatha in the kingdom.' Even here there is no greed ?

Rama—Sir, on account of your partiality for me, you see not the truth. Why, 'If she asks for her son the kingdom given away as dowry, she is greedy ; and we are not greedy who rob a brother of his kingdom !'

Chamberlain—Further.

Rama—More insinuations against my mother. I do not wish to hear. Now tell me the news of the king.

Chamberlain—Then, at that time,

'his words being choked with sorrow, the king sent me with a gesture. He has something at heart, me thinks ; but he swooned away.'

Rama—What, swooned away !

(In the postscenium)

What, what, swooned away, is it ?

If thou likest not the king swooning, take thy bow and be not overcome with mercy.

Rama—(Listening and looking in front)

'Who can have ruffled the unruffled Lakshmana, the ocean of composure? For, by his angry self I find my front filled with a hundred.' (17)

(Then enter Lakshmana with bow and arrows in his hand).

Lakshmana—What, what, swooned away, is it?

'If thou likest not the king to swoon take thy bow and not be overcome with mercy. All such soft men who are silent towards their kith and kin will thus be overcome. If thou dost not like it, send me. I am determined that the world is deprived of women for we are befooled.'

Sita—My lord, when it is the occasion for weeping, Saumitri has taken up his bow. Unseen before is, indeed, his anguish.

Rama—O son of Sumitra, what means this?

Lakshmana—'Why, why, what means this?' Indeed when the kingdom, descended by right of birth is gone, when the king lies wretched on the floor, doubt even at this time. Is forbearance indifference?

Rama—O son of Sumitra, the loss of a kingdom to me produces anguish in you! Fie! ignorant indeed, art thou! (18) 'Is it not all the same whether Bharatha is the king or we are the king? If you pride yourself as a Bowman, let that king be looked after.'

Lakshmana—I cannot control my anger, well so be it. I shall go (starts).

Rama—'Ready to burn down all the three worlds, as it were, stand the brows of Lakshmana in his forehead, determined like Fate. O son of Sumitra, hear now.'

Lakshmana—Sire, here am I.

Rama—to compose your mind have I said this, Tell me now:

'Shall I bend by bow against my father who keeps to truth; shall I send my arrows at my mother who takes possession of her own property; shall I kill my brother Bharatha, who is away from all guilt? Of these three sins which is sweeter to thy angry self?' (19).

Lakshmana—(with tears) Fie upon me! Thou tauntest ignorantly, 'my mind is not on the kingdom with its heavy troubles; but, indeed, on your having to dwell in the forest for fourteen years.'

Rama—On this the worthy sire swooned away? Alas, he showed his littleness. Maithili, 'bring me now the bark-garments given by her for a happy purpose; with these shall I practise virtue, unattained by any king before, even untried.' (20)

Sita—Take them my lord. (21)

Rama—Maithili, what art thou about?

Sita—Am I not, indeed, thy partner in virtue?

Rama—I am, indeed, to go all alone.

Sita—And hence shall I follow you.

Rama—The forest is the abode.

Sita—That will, indeed, be a palace to me.

Rama—And thou art to attend upon thy father-in-law and mother-in-law.

Sita—For them do I make my obeisance to the gods.

Rama—Lakshmana, stop her.

Lakshmana—Sire, I shall not try to stop her in this noble business. For, the stars follow the moon when in the grip of Rahu ; when the forest tree falls, the creeper also seeks the earth ; the she-elephant leaves not the lordly elephant, when caught in mud. Let her go and practise virtue. Ladies have lords in their husbands. (22)

(Entering.)

Maid—Long life, O princess. The worthy lady Reeva, the mistress of the concert room, informs you—‘unnoticed, Avadātika has taken away from the concert-room bark-garments. Here are other fresh garments. Utilize them as thou thinkest fit. (23)

Rama—Dear, bring them. She is content we want them.

Maid—Réceive, my lord, (doing thus, exit). (Rama receives and puts them on.)

Lakshmana—Be pleased, O sire;

‘Out of love you used to give me half of ornaments, wreaths, why of everything. The bark-dress you wear alone. Do you envy me in this bark-dress ?

Rama—Maithili, prevent him.

Sita—O Saumitri, please withdraw.

Laksmana—Worthy lady,

‘Desirest thou to attend all alone upon the feet of my sire ? Thine, indeed, is the right foot ; mine must be the left.’ (24)

Sita—Give, my lord. Saumitri is miserable,

Rama—Saumitri, listen. The bark-garment is indeed ‘the armour for the battle of penance, the goad for the elephants of vows ; the reins for the horses of senses ; and the charioteer of Dharma. Receive (it).

Lakshmana—Blessed am I. (Receiving, puts it on)

Rama—The high road is blocked by the citizens who have heafd of the news. Clear them. Clear them.

Lakshmana—Sire, I shall go in front. Make way, make way.

Rama—Maithili, take off thy veil.

Sita—As my lord orders, (Removes)

Rama—Ho! Ho! Citizens! List, list ye all,

' Freely see her, my wife with your eyes dimmed with tears. Harmlessly can a woman expose herself during a sacrifice, at marriage, in times of danger, and in the forest. (25)

(Entering.)

Chamberlain—Prince, must not, must not you go ! Here is the king ;

' Hearing of thy departure with thy wife to the forest, followed by Lakshmana induced by true brotherliness, the broken-down (king), rising up, with his body covered by the dust of the earth, is coming like a wild elephant.

Lakshmana—Sire, what is there to be seen in the forest dwellers dressed in bark-garments ?

Rama—When we are gone, let the king see where our heads used to recline.

(All Exeunt)

End of Act I.

NOTES—Critical and Explanatory

The first act describes the events immediately preceding the departure to the forest of Rama, the prince of Ayodhya. Leaving aside the prologue to the play, the first act, from the nature of its construction, has five sections or stages which may be noticed.

In the first of these are described the hurried preparations for the happy coronation of Rama. It begins with the entrance of the Portress, or the Pratyhari and runs on to that of Avadātika, one of the maids of Sita, and forms really the introduction to the act, or Pravēsaka, as it is technically called.

The second begins with the coming of Avadātika and runs on to the appearance of Rama on the stage. In this is presented to us the charming Sita, who is happily engaged in the company of her maids. Their happiness is in the first place enhanced by the news of the coronation of Rama, but later on marred by the suspicion that it might have been prevented. Hence this forms a connecting link, very happy and dramatic, between the domestic felicity presented in the first scene and the personal calamity announced in the next.

The third stage begins with the entrance of Rama, who himself announces the sad news—sad not to him but to us—of the coronation being broken off. His attitude of thankfulness for taking off his shoulders the burden of government and his expression of sincere gladness, which is also shared by his noble consort are happily utilized to lessen the tragic

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tension of the situation. Here, then, is presented the first fruit of Kaikeyi's wickedness.

The next stage is ushered in by the entry of the chamberlain who comes to announce the sad state of the king and the second, sadder fruit of the queen's scheming. This is but the sequel of the first blow. The full significance of this blow can be realized only when the state of king is known. The miserable state to which the king has been reduced is the direct result of the third, fatal request of Kaikeyi. Between this and the preceding stage is described the short almost humourous conversation between Sita and Rama on the question of the bark-garment, and it forms a connecting link between two sad states.

The last stage in the development of the plot begins with the entry of Lakshmana, who is made the mouth-piece for the commencement of the last and deadly blow of the miserable queen. Between the preceding and this has been introduced as a dramatic foil, the just, noble, and manly defence of Kaikeyi, a defence that is possible only for and from Rama. To smoothen down the feelings of all, which have been rather rudely shaken, has been introduced the description of the preparations for leaving for the forest. And we are more or less against ourselves made to partake of the serene composure of our royal hero, who is justly and decidedly the true ideal of an Indian Prince.

The incidents here dramatised are very common and very familiar to all. But their commonness is not only not allowed to mar the dramatic effect. It is on the other hand happily utilized to further it, thanks to the artistic development of the plot. The dramatic situation created by the incident of the bark-garment only enhances the tragic pathos in its cumulative effect, though in its particular setting it serves as a foil to relieve the tragic tension. The tragic nature of the incidents presented here is counter-balanced only by the royal stability and serene composure of the hero. The justification of Kaikeyi's conduct is a splendid achievement of dramatic art. The whole act is in the highest degree dramatic, thanks to the inimitable skill of Bhāsa.

The three chief characters of the play are presented to us in this act. The outstanding trait of Rama's character is his immovable steadiness and composure of heart and mind, and his preparedness always to see the best side only of everything. Sita is represented as the true counterpart of Rama, the reflection or shadow, as she has elsewhere been happily described. Lakshmana is represented as the type of ideal brother, who is always bent upon administering to the comforts of Rama. There is also presented a dramatic contrast between the two brothers in that while the elder leans noticeably to the ideal, the younger is decidedly practical. This contrast is

strikingly brought out in the wild outbursts of Lakshmana, as he unfolds the cruellest stab of the unlucky and the misguided queen.*

(1) The introductory stanza with which the play opens is also the benedictory one. It is indeed very artificial and unpoetic. The only aim kept in view is to make mention of the leading characters of the play. Thus mention is made of Rama, Sita, and Lakshmana, Bharatha, Sumantra, Sugriva, Ravana, and Vibhishana.

(2) In the following are described the hasty preparations for the coronation. Note the preparations. The state umbrella, the emblem of sovereignty, as also the *chowries*, are there. There is the military music, corresponding to the band of the present day. The consecrated waters are kept in readiness to pour on the head of the prince to be crowned, the priests, learned in Vedic lore, stand ready to perform the pleasing function. And this is to take place in the full presence of all ministers, both spiritual and temporal, and the throng of citizens. As is the case elsewhere, the spiritual head is to perform the pompous ceremony, which is to usher forth a new era for the people. The state carriage also stands ready yoked for the triumphal procession and state entry. Note Pushyaratha is the carriage used on occasions other than fighting. It is also interesting to point out that, after the religious ceremony and the public entry, there is to be a dramatic entertainment. It is worth while to remember that the same description will with some deviations hold good for a modern coronation.

(3) Here begins the second stage in the plot. When Avadātika removes the bark-garment for the purpose of making fun of the mistress of the theatre, she little thinks of the real purpose that this is to serve. Perhaps we have a suggestion of the coming calamity in the very words with which she enters the stage.

(4) This is a beautiful little statement which clearly reveals the high tone of morality that was then present.

(5) Note the keen sense of observation of Sita. She concludes from the colour of her face that she has set afloat some mischief.

(6) Note Sita's high and noble conception of duty. She does not want her maid to do any wrong even in jest, even for fun.

(7) The situation is very dramatic. She puts on the bark-garment for mere fun and feels elated. Then she comes to hear of the calamity, and little did she then think that would be her dress for a long time to come. What is begun in 'fun' is soon to end in a grim reality. Note the dramatic irony.

In spite of the moral grandeur that she evinced in her remarks about the propriety of the conduct of her maid, she here behaves like a common woman

and exhibits her maiden curiosity. Hence she tries the garment and it is at this stage that Rama makes his entry.

(8) The topic of coronation and the suspicion of its having been broken off have been very dramatically introduced; such simplicity and artlessness have been brought to bear on it. Cf. Statements (9) and (10). (11) The suggestion of the tragedy has already been made and with the entrance of Rama its slow and gradual unfolding is begun. That Rama himself is made to describe the sad news of the coronation is very significant and very important. Besides its effect on characterization, it enhances the pathos of the situation. The great cheerfulness with which he submits to the changed condition rouses our wonder and admiration, as much as it did that of the citizens of Ayodhya. That Rama is able to heave a sigh of relief that he is not crowned shows how clearly he realized the duties and responsibilities of kingship as something seldom realized now-a-days. It is also worth while to note that there is not given expression to even a single thought of regret or sadness; and like the ideal wife, Sita nobly applauds him in his robust and healthy view of the situation. How simple yet majestic are his words; and no wonder he is for all time to come our national hero and our ideal prince.

(12) As pointed out before, the tragic pathos is only enhanced by Rama's narrating the story himself.

(13) The mention of the presence of Satrughna at the time of coronation is an innovation made by our author. We shall consider the dramatic purpose served by his presence here, when we treat of the major deviations. (Cf. Notes Act III.)

(14) The statement requires a word of explanation. 'The king is himself the king' means king Dasaratha has to bear on his own shoulders all the responsibilities and duties of kingship. 'The prince is himself the prince' means that the prince is not overburdened with the same but continues a free man, free to enjoy the caresses of his parents, the company of his sweet and charming wife.

(15) This takes us to the next stage in the development of the plot. As an introduction to this has been described the talk of the absence of jewels and the bark-garment. The subject of the king's swoon has been introduced none too soon, for otherwise Sita would have been in an awkward position for Rama asks her to put on her jewels which have already been given away as a present. The continuation of this subject has to be avoided, and at this moment Rama notices the bark-garment, and before the talk again veers round, is announced the swooning of the king. The chamberlain that soon enters brings news of the second stage of Kaikeyi's wicked plot.

It deserves to be noted here that Rama comes to know the full details

of the mischief done by his mother not all at once, but step by step. The least unhappy part of the tragedy Rama knows directly. The sadder aspect that it was his mother who prevented the coronation and that for the sake of getting her own son, Bharatha crowned, he learns from the chamberlain. The last and the most fatal blow of Kaikeyi he learns from Lakshmana. Such a description, the evolution step by step, enhances greatly the dramatic effect. The tension is raised to the highest pitch. And consistently with this, Rama also rises superior to every situation that this evolution creates. The process here adopted, we are inclined to think, marks the highest success from the point of view of construction and characterization.

(16) Here begins Rama's justification of the conduct of Kaikeyi. First he emphasises that she could have no ulterior motives in preventing the coronation, except the well being of all the parties concerned. In the first place the king is prevented from going to the forest; secondly he himself is allowed to remain a happy minor, to retain the pleasant boyhood; thirdly the people can have no anxiety consequent on the change of a king which means a change of policy; and lastly his brothers' happiness remains as before; for it needs scarcely be said that they cannot and will not take the same old privilege with a brother. Hence this step assures the continuous happiness of himself, the people, and his brothers. And when the chamberlain points out that she had a motive Rama waxes more eloquent and hence the statement. 'If she asks, etc.' His character rises to the highest greatness when he silences the chamberlain by saying that he is not prepared to hear any more insinuations against his mother. How grand and how noble yet how simple! What royal composure and manly sincerity! The only fault that an overpunctilious critic can make against this act is that the character of Rama has been painted in rather ideal colours. He is too ideal to be lovable, he may say. But we cannot endorse such a view. The criticism is advanced from the western point of view and therefore it loses much of its weight when applied to an Indian King. Such utter selflessness, such noble self-sacrifice are indeed not rare amongst the ancient Hindu kings. Buddha, to cite but one instance, would falsify the criticism advanced. Further, elsewhere, in his conduct towards Sita, his behaviour towards the maids and the citizens, he behaves like one of ourselves; and the exuberant love and affection that all have for Rama, a love that is inconsistent with an ideal character, only supports our own view.

(17) The entrance of the angry Lakshmana marks the last stage in the development of the plot. He behaves and acts a practical man of the world. Moved by his love for his brother, he fully realizes the immense loss that

Rama has incurred. . . But he is more sorry that he is to go to the forest and hence the angry outbursts. The situation presented is truly dramatic.

(18) The arguments laid out by Rama take Lakshmana by surprise. Lakshmana's anger, Rama argues, is out of place, for as the situation stands he is neither a gainer nor a loser. It makes no difference to him whether Rama becomes the king or Bharatha. And as his reply shows, he stands abashed before Rama.

(19) Here is epitomised the justification of Kaikeyi's conduct. And the alternatives placed before Lakshmana utterly convinces him. Here is given another new argument and that is that Kaikeyi has enabled the king to keep his word true. And then does Lakshmana announce the last stab. But this Rama eagerly embraces, as the finest opportunity for learning virtue.

(20) The noble simplicity and the high serenity of the scene that follows forms the just conclusion of the tragic course of events. How calmly, naturally, do the trio take themselves to the new situation! The sweet composure of the characters tones down to a great extent the tragic pathos.

(21) The following conversation greatly enhances the character of Sita. She here lays down the character and conduct to be followed by an ideal wife.

(22) The same subject is elaborated with illustrations by Lakshmana. The ideal wife never leaves her lord whether he be in happy or in unhappy circumstances.

(23) The entry of the maid removes the only difficulty that now confronts them, the difficulty of getting dress, suitable for a life in forest. Sita is already prepared for she has parted with her ornaments and put on bark-garments. Those that are now brought serve Rama and Lakshmana.

(24) Here is given the only aim of Lakshmana in life, which is to attend upon his beloved brother, whom he loves more than his own self. Such is ideal brotherliness.

(25) Note here the exceedingly considerate nature of Rama. To humour his citizens he allows them to have a full view of not only himself but also of his wife. The taking off the veil suggests the *ghosha* system that was then prevalent there.

THE LEGENDS OF KERALA.

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IN these days when the importance of folklore has been rightly understood and scholars are almost everywhere engaged in collecting stories, no apology is needed on my part to place before the readers of this valuable journal as many of the stories current in our place as we can collect. We give the legends as they are in the mouths of old men, and we make indeed no attempt to introduce anything of history into them. For the sake of convenience, we intend to arrange the legends under the three heads of Temple, Place and Persons.

As the first instalment we give a few legends connected with the temple at Iringalakuda. This is a small town situated about twelve miles from Trichur to the south of it, and about four miles west of the station so called on the Shoranur-Cochin Railway. The place has some sort of sanctity. For, in it stands one of the oldest and richest of temples in Cochin. Secondly it is a place sanctified by the holy sage Kunī-Pinī, probably a Dravidian sage, who lived here practising penance. The almost lake-like tank within the temple precincts is called after this sage. All the holy rivers of our sacred land are supposed to send a stream of water to this *Tirtha*, which is for this reason also looked upon as very sacred. The Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Ambalavasis alone are allowed to touch it everyday. The other caste Hindus are allowed to take a holy plunge in it only once a year, when people come from far and near. This original sanctity of the place was in later days enhanced when the majestic temple dedicated to *Bharatha*, the glorious brother of Sri Ramā, was reared.

I.

The first temple was built here as directed by a divine voice, and the first idol was a divine gift. The tradition connected with it runs thus:—

Once some fishermen were out fishing off the coast at *Triparayar* in South Malabar. When they hauled in their nets they found to their surprise four wooden shrines in their net. These they made a present of to their master Blahayil Nayar, according to one tradition, and as another would have it, to Vākke Kaimal. He consulted the *vaidiks* and astrologers. They came to the conclusion that those beautiful shrines represented the four divine princes of Ayodhya. As directed by divine voice, these were

established at four different places. Sri Bharatha thus came to be enshrined at Irinjalakuda.

The idol represents Sri Bharatha as practising penance at Nandigrama awaiting the return of Sri Rama. This view is borne out by the fact that Ghosha-ladies are not allowed inside the temple, and that the chief priest is to lead a celibate life when he is in charge of worship.

II.

The most favourite offering to God is the distribution of money amongst certain section of the Ambalavasis, and these are the Pisharotis, Warriors, and Pushpan Nambiar. As tradition hath it these people have been supplying Sri Bharatha with fruits and flowers while he was practising penance at Nandigrama. As he was but the deputy and as he had no right for the kingdom, he had not paid them then but had asked them to go and live at Irinjalkuda and receive the free gifts of money for the service they had done him. This is also adduced to prove that the shrine represents Bharatha at Nandigrama.

III.

There is a legend in two different versions about the building of the present temple. The structure that holds the sacred idol is circular, and is crowned with a circular cone roof. To fix the rafters in such structure is very difficult. The carpenters had carefully prepared the rafters and it remained but to fix them up, which they postponed to the next day. That night *Uliyanur Perum-thachan* came there and meddled with them and went away unseen by any. The next morning the carpenters assembled and began to fix the rafters; but in spite of all their efforts, they could not be fixed up. They spent a few days thus vainly attempting. In the meanwhile, the temple authorities became impatient and invited specialists from far and wide. The last to come was *Perum-thachan*. He offered to put up the roof, provided he would be allowed to manage the temple affairs. His condition had to be agreed to. He fulfilled his promise and the authorities in their turn made him the manager of temple affairs, under the title of Tachudaya-Kaimal.

The post is still continued and is filled by nomination by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. This prince has now come to exercise this right of nomination because *Perum-thachan* was a subject of Travancore and when his family became extinct all its rights and privileges passed over into the hands of His Highness. The person elect has to undergo so many religious ceremonies and is to lead a celibate life. The rights and powers of Tachudaya Kaimal roughly correspond to those of the heads of the various Mutts. He is looked upon as the temporal representative of God.

IV.

The second version runs thus : The carpenters employed in building the temple indefinitely delayed putting up the circular roof, for that meant means of livelihood for a longer period. One day, as the carpenters were about to proceed to their mess, a carpenter presented himself and requested them to give him also food. They not only paid no heed to his requests but insulted him and he quietly walked away. The guest whom they had ill-treated was none other than *Perum-thachan*. That night he came and finished fixing the rafters before morn. When the morning brought together the carpenters, they were wonderstruck beholding that the roof was put up. They soon identified the previous day's guest as the famous *Perum-thachan* and bewailed their foolish mistake. It was then resolved with all solemnity that every carpenter must serve his guest first, if he had any before he himself retired for food and that that convention must be binding on one and all the members of their community. This is accepted as an unwritten law of the community, to which every member thereof adheres most scrupulously, even at this distance of time.

V.

With the building of the new temple it was resolved to change the idol also, for the old divine shrine had begun to show signs of decay. When the temple and the shrine were ready, an auspicious day was fixed for the establishment of the new idol. In connection with the change of idol many stories are told.

On the appointed day many holy *vaidiks* came and after the necessary ceremonies it was thought that the element of life or vitality of the old idol was transferred to the new one. Accordingly, the old one was removed from its place and, after the installation of the new one in the place, it was thrown into sacred tank close by. And then was there a wonder. The wooden shrine instead of going down, as it ought to, was floating about, swimming here and there. The *vaidiks* were once again in consultation and it was resolved to draw back the cast off idol and to conduct the ceremonies once again. This was done and when it was again put in the waters, it quietly sank down. This wonderful and miraculous shrine was a couple of years back exposed to public view when the sacred tank was emptied for repairs and was then safely established in the well in the *tirtha*.

VI.

The astrologer-in-chief who selected the auspicious moment for the final ceremonies in connection with the change of the shrine had predicted that at the moment when the sanctified waters were to be poured on the

head of the idol there would come into the temple a peacock. The *vaidiks* waited and waited for the coming of the omen and were becoming impatient when they saw a peacock feather brought into the temple precincts on a *kavudi*. This was taken as a sufficient verification of the proper moment spoken of and accordingly the ceremonies were conducted but scarcely had they finished these when they saw coming from afar a peacock in all its glory. There was great consternation among the priests and they did not know what to do, when, as good luck would have it, there came an unknown brahmin and suggested that if they would adorn the idol with flowery wreaths, that would quite suffice. The garland that lay ready there was a garland made of lotus, this was placed on the shrine at the auspicious moment. Thus is accounted for the greater sanctity attached to the lotus flower in this temple.

VII.

Another legend accounts for this sanctity of the lotus flower a different way. At the last moment when the final and the most important of the ceremonies connected with the change of idol were to be conducted, it was found to their dismay, that the sculptor had failed to carve on the idol the *yagnépavitaṁ*, i.e., the sacred thread. There was great consternation amongst them. They did not know if the sculptor could be allowed to touch the idol at that stage. Further even if he could be allowed, there was not time enough to get it done and to go through the ceremonies in the time prescribed by the astrologer. At this moment an old brahmin appeared before them and volunteered to do the work in a moment. His offer was greedily accepted and the work was done in a shorter space of time. But the moments had quickly fled and there remained but a minute of the auspicious period. The brahmin adorned the idol with the lotus wreath that lay ready there, and advised them to finish off the ceremonies later on. Hence came the importance attached to the lotus flower.

The ceremonies were duly conducted after this. But, alas, the period when this was done pointed to the result, ग्रामोनष्टः: *the ruin of the village*,—a something, that is being verified day by day, especially as regards the families of the brahmans.

IX.

There is again another tradition which accounts for the waning prosperity of the brahmans. It runs thus:—

The priestly magnates, the nambudiris, of this temple were carrying on an incessant quarrel with those of the temple of *Mathilakam*. At last they came to blows and the former had the worst of it. Beaten all round,

they came to their temple and one and all of them devoted themselves to a severe course of prayer at the feet of *Sri Bharatha* for a period of forty-one days, the burden of their prayer being the utter and complete ruin of the latter temple. The lover of His devotees, the Lord could not long turn a deaf ear to their prayers and before the period was over, the majestic temple at Mathilakam lay in ruins. So utter was the ruin that the very idol, one of the biggest and the most beautiful, as they say, lay exposed to the vulgar gaze. When the *Sanctum Sanctorum* fell down, a divine voice, it is said, was heard saying—"When I am again worshipped in a temple, then shall the temple at Iranjalakuda begin to decay."

En passe we may remark this prophecy is gradually being fulfilled. For, some years ago this beautiful idol, after passing through a series of mishaps sad even to imagine fell into the hands of the authorities of the Tirumala Devasom at Cochin. They have enshrined it in a small temple and are worshipping it. From that very time, the temple at Iranjalakuda has fallen into bad days.*

Now to go back. The intense prayer and service that was on that occasion inaugurated is being continued even to-day, the burden of their song being, as before, destruction. But since the object of their ire had long long ago destroyed, the prayer has been taking effect on themselves. Hence are the Nambudiris belonging to the Iranjalakuda *Gramam* waning in prosperity.

X.

We have already mentioned one legend which accounts for the right exercised by H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore in the matter of nominating *Tachudaya Kaimal*. There is also another connected with a gem and this may be termed the *Legend of the Gem*. It runs thus :

The sacred waters which are to be poured on the idol are to be purified by also putting into the vessel holding it the many varieties of the precious stones. One of these is the famous '*Manicka-kallu*'. This is so very rare that the authorities could not get one in spite of all their search. Then they heard that the chief of *Kayan-kulam* had in his possession one such stone. Accordingly a deputation waited upon him and the latter agreed to lend them the jewel on condition that, if by any chance they could not return it to him, he must be accepted as one of the owners of the temple. This was agreed to and the jewel was brought with them. When the ceremony was progressing and the water was being poured out of the divine vessel the gem also flowed out and rested on the head on the idol and became merged in it. Then, wonderful to behold, it was passing from one part of the body to another, shedding its effulgent rays all around and after some time quietly disappeared. This

* Let me not be mistaken. I am only recording what I have gathered from the elders.

wondrous tale was carried to the chief who was the owner of the gem, and, as per their agreement, he became one of the owners of the temple. When in later days this petty kingdom became annexed to Travancore, the chiefs, rights and privileges passed over into the hands of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, who contented himself with the right of nominating the *Tachudaya Kaimal*.

From this incident of the gem, the lord established there has come to be called Kudal-Manicka-Swami which is a corrupt form of Kudatal-Manicka-Swami, meaning '*the lord with the jewel Manickam added.*' And it may in passing be mentioned that not more than a decade ago there was witnessed a sparkling lustre moving about on the body of the idol.

BOOKS, ETC., REVIEWED.

The Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1920.

THE report submitted by Mr. Narasimhachariar, the Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore maintains its usual high level of interest both in regard to the information and illustration. Mr. Narasimhachar was not able to do the usual quantity of touring work owing to exigencies of official work and had to depute some of his staff to do a part of this under direction. He took advantage of his visit to Poona to attend the Oriental Conference in November 1919 to visit places of archaeological interest in the Bombay Dakhan and gives his own notes of the various places he visited and the epigraphs he read. These notes contain new information in some respects and gives fresh view on certain points of importance. These places included Poona, Karle, Elephanta, Kanheri, Nasik, Ellora, Badami and Hampi. The report contains a number of photographs of various items of interest in connection with these places.

Otherwise the report falls into three sections—The archaeological part deals with various Chalukya temples in Mysore of which those at Koramangala and Sindighatta are of importance. There are one or two details of interest added at the great temple at Harihara. The other items of interest include certain details of Jain architecture from Basti-Hoskote, a few Naga stones and some mastikals. These last are in three panels usually and show at the bottom panel the man and his wife. The next one shows the characteristic female arm and hand, and the uppermost shows the man and his wife in the presence of God, generally in a Linga shrine. One of the three illustrations in the report under review shews the hand in the upper of two panels. The under panel a representation as it seems of fire—Mr. Narasimhachariar does not understand the significance of this kind of *mastikal*. Can it be that this is a sati-stone of a woman who died with her husband who did not fall in battle; but died otherwise? Another item of archaeological interest is the representation of a Panchalinga shrine at Govindanahalli. The report gives a list of 70 photographs and seven drawings made during the year.

One item of historical interest in connection with the ruling family of His Highness the Maharaja relates to the historical founder of the family Raja Wadeyar. The Venkataramanaswami's temple in the fort contains a statue of Raja Wadeyar in the position of worship and an inscription in the temple states that in that form the God changed poison into nectar. This temple also contains a

record which gives a list of rulers of this family and the period of the reign of each member in years and months and in periods of 12 years called *patta*.

Passing to the section on epigraphy one important Ganga record throws considerable new light upon the history of this family. This is all the more important as Mr. Narasimhachar considers the copper-plate record a genuine document of Sri-Purusha. This record with the Penukonda-plates will go a considerable way towards settling finally the controversy in regard to the character of the early Ganga-records generally. Other Ganga records of value are also dealt with in sections 59 to 67 of the report. Mr. Narasimhachar notes an important fact in regard to the Badami inscriptions of Mangalésā. The record contains a donation to the Vishnu temple. The village granted is called Lanjisvara or Lanji-*gesvara* and not the shrine concerned. A Rasatrakuta record of importance brings to notice a date A.D. 807, from the prince Kambadēva of whom we had already a record of A.D. 802, at Manne in the Nelamangala Taluk. A large number of Hoysala records are discussed in sections 71 to 77 of dates ranging from A.D. 1117 to A.D. 1337. One point of importance worthy of note in connection with these is a record of the Hoysala Somēsvara dated 1236, in the Virūpāksha temple at Hampi. The Vijayanagar records construe period A.D. 1378 to 1606. The noteworthy ones among these are two records of A.D. 1339 and 1340 relating to the great minister, Hakkanna Dandanayaka, of Dévarāya II. A Tirupati record of Krishna Dévarāya dated A. D. 1514 fixes the date of the capture of Udayagiri from the Kalinga ruler closely. Among the records of interest relating to Achyutāraya is one of 1534 in the Achyutaraya temple in Hampi which states that the shrine was built by Hiriya Tirumalaraja Odeyar, son of Hakkaraja Odeya. This last name seems a misreading for Salakaraja, sometimes with doubled *k*. Another one in the same temple gives us a date A.D. 1539 for this ruler and records the gift of *Anandanidhi*.

Among the records relating to the present ruling dynasty is a copper-plate record of Chikka Devaraja Odeyar to the Lingayet Matha at Ullamballi. This is dated A.D. 1673 and is a grant made to the head of the Revanaradhyā mutt for the expenses of any annual pilgrimage to Sri Saila by him. There are a number of other records of a miscellaneous character dealt with in the report. Reference is made among these to a Tamil epigraph of the 40th year of Vira Narasingadeva Madhavarayar. Mr. Narasimhachar says of this record, "It is not clear who this chief was and when and where he ruled." There seems to be a misreading in the last word. It seems to be Yadhavanarayar not Madhavarayar. This was a ruler of Pottappinadu with headquarters at Kalahasti under the Cholas. He also draws attention to epigraphical curiosity. This is Malavalli 48 of date corresponding to A. D. 1697 though the character and language are older by near four centuries. I do not know how to account for this discrepancy." One possible explanation seems to be that this was a renewal of an old grant which for some reason had lapsed and the engraver reproduced the old document with the new date and may be new details in regard to persons concerned.

Mr. Narasimhacharyar also examined a number of manuscripts during the year, some of which are of considerable historical importance—particularly one relating to the present ruling family. Section 102 contains extracts from letters of application from various scholars of the valuable work of the Director and his staff. We shall add here our own humble share of our appreciation of the good work done by the Department and would wish, in our own greediness, that the work of revision, indexing and supplement to the volumes of the *Epigraphica Carnatica* shewed a more alert pace.

S.K.

**India as known to ancient world by Gauranganath Banerjee,
Oxford University Press,**

"The object of this little book," according to its author, "is to offer a survey of the remarkable civilization which arose in Ancient India thousands of years ago and which influenced not only the manners, religion and customs of the people of the Malay Archipelago and Indo-China, but gave also a thin veneer of culture to the nomads of Central Asiatic steppes, through her commercial enterprise and religious propaganda."

This ambitious object the author seeks to obtain in an essay of about 73 pages of printed matter, and the work must necessarily be no more than a resume of research work already done upon this important topic. India's connection with Egypt, Western Asia, Greece and Rome, China, Central Asia, further India, Indonesia, all these come in for a few pages apiece and provide a very slender resume of the available information—such as it is the survey would have been more useful if it had at least systematically given references for collateral reading, and the wants of this accessory makes the work seriously defective. As far as it goes it is interesting and gives a bird's-eye view of the more salient features of the topic dealt with.

The work is marred by some small errors of omission and commission to which we feel bound to draw attention in the interest of the general readers for whose special benefit the book is apparently intended. Dr. Gauranganath identifies Manjires with Mangalore, and Neleyuda with Nilkantha without any indication where this last is—Muzires is the Tamil Musiri or Mujeri, His identification with Cranganore has long been accepted as satisfactory—Mangalore is the Nitrias of the classical geographers. Nelcyuda or Neakryada is almost as certainly Nirkuntham near Kottayam in Travancore. Two passages on p. 25, and pp. 28 and 29 seem to us to be extracts from a well-known work, but there is no reference to it either in preface or among the footnotes. There is a section of the booklet specially devoted to Borneo, but there is not the slightest reference to the inscriptions of Mulavarman, recently issued in a new edition by Dr. Vogel. We hope these will be removed should a new edition of the work be called for.

S.K.

South India and her Muhammadan Invaders.

BY RAO SAHIB

PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI IYENGAR, M.A., F.M.U., M.R.A.S., F.R.H.S., etc.

The book before us is the result of considerable research into an hitherto little explored period of South Indian History. The eras of glory and prosperity are the first to attract pioneer workers in historical research, and South Indian History was no exception to the rule. Hitherto we have had various studies of the Chola ascendancy, of the Hoysala empire in its brightest days, and of the famous Vijayanagar empire. We have had also studies of ancient Pandyan chronicles and of references in Western literature to trade with South India ; but the history of intermediate movements connecting one era of glory with another and of the silent and unostentatious work that precedes and lays the foundation of empires, rarely secured the attention that it deserves.

Professor Krishnaswami Iyengar who has already laid students of Indian history under a deep debt of gratitude by his masterly contributions on the Chola and Vijayanagar empire has now presented us with a study of the times connecting the two eras. In the brief space of about 190 pages he has brought together a mass of data bearing on the troubles and turmoils of South India in the 13th and 14th centuries. The book embodies the results of Professor Krishnaswami Iyengar's investigation into the actual circumstances under which the empire of Vijayanagar came into being and depicts as a consequence the condition of South India on the eve of the Muhammadan invasions. The subject matter of the book was first delivered as a course of six lectures at the University of Madras. The first lecture traces the decadence of the Chola empire, and shows how it split up into a number of chieftaincies. The disruption is traced to the pressure of the Pandyas from the South, the natural tendency to independence of the feudatories within, and a fratricidal war arising among the members of the Chola ruling family itself. He next traces the revival of the Pandya power which had been reduced to subordination by the Cholas very early in their imperial career. The re-assertion of their independence began with the weakening of the Chola power about the middle of the twelfth century, and culminated in the establishment of the Pandyas as one of only two South Indian Powers in the middle of the thirteenth. The third lecture concerns itself with the first invasions of the Dakhan by Alau-d-din and Malik Kafur. In the fourth it is pointed out that there is satisfactory evidence of Malik Kafur's invasion having reached as far south as Madura and Rameswaram and that the character of the invasions had nothing of conquest or occupation of territory in it. The fifth lecture bears upon the career of Muhammad Tughlak and the character of the invasions of South India sent by him. Muhammad's policy was conquest and extension of his empire, and was thus opposed to that of Alau-d-din. Muhammad's empire was, it is pointed out, the largest that the Muhammadan Empire ever reached in India and carried in it the

the seed of dismemberment. An attempt is made to arrange the chronology of Muhammād's reign on rational lines on the basis of history of the Sultanate or Madura founded in his reign. The sixth contains a somewhat detailed exposition of the foundation and further history of the Sultanate of Madura, and its wars against the Hoysalas who, under their last great ruler, Vira Ballala III made a patriotic effort to dislodge the Muhammadans from the South. The Hoysala King fell in the effort, and brought his dynasty to an end in carrying on this great national war of the Hindus. Some of the more prominent officers of his empire discharged their debt to cause and country by ultimately succeeding where their master had failed, and giving visible embodiment to their success in elevating to the dignity of 'Capital of the Empire' a new foundation of the last great Hoysala, Vira Ballala III.

Vijitya Visvam Vijayabhidhānam

Visvōttaram yō nagarim vyadatta.

This was Vijayanagar. The credit of this achievement is due to five brothers who all held positions of responsibility along the northern frontier when the critical moment had arrived. If one among them could be marked out, as peculiarly deserving this honour, it was Bukka, his son Kumara Kampana coming in for an honourable share.

These lectures in their final form were delivered also by invitation of the Mysore University as a course of Extension Lectures in Mysore and the most interesting of them was, as our readers are aware, delivered by Professor Krishnaswami Iyengar before this Society under the title "the Foundation of Vijayanagar" and has already appeared in our journal. The main theme of the book and its most principal contribution of historical knowledge is thus already before our readers and we need hardly repeat it here. The book is rendered the more useful for purposes of reference and further study by valuable geographical notes and five appendices of original texts and inscriptions and a special extract from Ibn Batuta's journal of his travels. The book is of special interest to us in Mysore in that as Professor Krishnaswami Iyengar says in his dedication to His Highness the Maha-taja of Mysore we have in our sovereign "the occupant of the throne of the Imperial Sovereign Vira Ballala III who devoted his life to the cause of the Hinduism and made it possible for the South Indian Hindus to be the Hindus they are to-day."

Professor Krishnaswami Iyengar richly deserves the high compliment that Chief Justice Sir J. P. Wallis has paid to him in respect of this work and we beg to associate ourselves with him in saying that by his researches Professor Krishnaswami has more than justified his selection to the Madras University chair of Indian History and Archaeology.

A.V.R.

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